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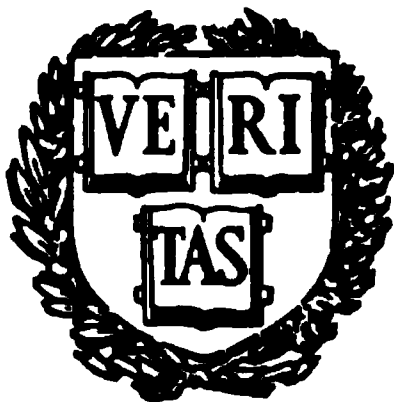
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WINCHESTER

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WINCHESTER COLLEGE AND ITS INMATES, c. 1460.

From drawing by Warden Chandler at New College, Oxford.

Frontispiece.

A HISTORY OF WINCHESTER COLLEGE,

BY
Francis
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PREFACE

THIS is the first attempt at a connected and complete history of Winchester College and School "from the earliest times to the present day." The compression of the history of five hundred years into five hundred small pages is no easy task. Opinions will doubtless differ as to whether certain periods and certain aspects of the School life in that period have been treated in too great or too little detail. In all, I have endeavoured to go to first-hand evidence or first-class authorities, in spite of considerable obstruction in some quarters where it was least expected.

Winchester being regarded as the origin and fountain head of the great system of Public School education, a considerable, though not, it is hoped, an undue amount of, space has been given to the ascertainment of its true place in the history of English education, and its relations to prior schools in general and those of Winchester in particular. If new light has been shed on this matter, I have to express my gratitude to the Very Reverend W. R. W. Stephens, Dean of Winchester, for the exceptional facilities afforded me of access to and use of the Cathedral records; and to the Rev. F. T. Madge, the librarian, for much information. I have also to give

my best thanks to the late Mayor of Winchester, Mr. Alfred Bowker; the Town-Clerk, Mr. Walter Bailey; and Mr. Alderman Jacob, for similar facilities in regard to the City Records. More light on the subject of this volume, as well as on the extremely interesting history of the city itself, may be expected when the wealth of material there has been brought into better order and has been scientifically mined.

Throughout, an endeavour has been made to treat of Winchester in its relation to other Schools, particularly as the "Mother of Schools," though space failed for a due presentation of all its utility in that aspect in later times. An effort has also been made to test "guesses at truth" hitherto accepted as truth.

It was rather surprising to find that the accepted date of the opening of College and of the beginning of Commoners was wrong; that it is very doubtful whether Wykeham was the architect of College; that only in a very modified sense was he the inventor of Public Schools or of the Prefectorial system; that in the days of Elizabeth the protagonists both of Romanism and of Protestantism issued from College walls; that there was no miraculous saviour of the College or of Wykeham's Chantry from the Roundhead spoiler, and that none was needed; that Dr. Burton has little claim to the title of the Founder of Commoners; and so far as he had such a claim, was not conferring a benefit on the School; that at one time Winchester deserved the title of the School of Poets. Perhaps the most surprising find of all is the smallness of

the numbers with which Winchester maintained its *prestige* as one of the greatest of Public Schools, and "the finest foundation in Europe."

To the Wardens of the two St. Mary Winton Colleges I am indebted for much help and kindness. Of Dr. Sewell, the Warden of New College, I must repeat what others have said before, that it is greatly to be regretted that he has not himself given to the world some of his unrivalled lore in the history of the two Colleges. For his readiness to impart it to inquirers and to facilitate access to documents, and the use of his facsimiles of his fifteenth-century predecessor's drawings, special gratitude is due.

I must also thank the Head-master, Dr. Fearon, for much information; and, apropos, I should like to call up Dr. Johnson, "surly Sam," and ask him whether, in view of the Winchester record to-day, he is still of the opinion, aimed at Dr. Warton in his own days, that "there is now less flogging in our great schools than formerly, but then less is learned there; so that what the boys gain at one end they lose at the other." Thanks also to the Second-master, the Rev. G. Richardson, for recent history, and for the excellent portrait of the Commoner of 1731 from his dining-room; to Mr. R. G. K. Wrench and his scientific *Word-Book*, or Winchester Notions; to Mr. H. J. Hardy, College Tutor and archæologist; and last, not least, to Mr. A. K. Cook, editor of the Quingentenary volume of Winchester history, and as "pruner of my periods."

Among old Wykehamists I am especially obliged to Mr. L. L. Shadwell, a mine of knowledge; Mr. C. W. Holgate, whose *Commoners* and *Long Rolls* are invaluable accessions to the later history of the School; to Mr. Woodd-Smith for his photograph of our common house.

Among books, first in date and width comes *William of Wykeham and his Colleges* (David Nutt, London, 1852), by the late Canon Mackenzie E. C. Walcott. He was the first writer to throw the light of research among original documents on the College history; but as his book comprised a life of the Founder, with a history of New College as well as Winchester, it is but a sketch of either part of his subject. For the history of College in particular, the paramount authorities are the *Scholars* (H. Frowde, 1888) and the *Annals of Winchester College* (H. Frowde, 1892), a veritable *magnum opus* of the Bursar, Mr. T. F. Kirby. The calendar of the muniments which he has prepared is anxiously awaited. Meanwhile it were devoutly to be wished that the Muniment Room were swept and garnished, and the muniments themselves rendered easily accessible to others. A great deal remains to be done to wrest a complete and accurate history of the College from its archives. I have noted in the text some points in which such researches as I have been able to make led me to differ from his facts or conclusions.

For the later history, particularly of Commoners, the standard authority is *Wykehamica* (James Parker & Co., 1878), by the Rev. H. C. Adams, once Commoner Tutor,

most readable of School books. A lively picture of life in College at about the same epoch is given in *Winchester College Fifty Years Ago* (Macmillan, 1898), by the Rev. W. Tuckwell, who has kindly allowed me to reproduce the pictures of the Head-master's chair and Frank Buckland's toys. The *Wykehamist* is invaluable alike for ancient and modern history. May its columns never grow less !

The source of the Illustrations is duly acknowledged upon them. I must thank the Society of Antiquaries for leave to reproduce several of them from rubbings of brasses in their magnificent collection. As regards the drawing of Hall, I should like to explain to present College men that artistic license and not the author is responsible for the three mysterious presences, clearly not on speaking terms with each other, who figure at the High Table, and for the equally mysterious absence of Queristers.

The excellent view of College and Commoners from Grass Court is reproduced by special permission of the proprietors of *Country Life*, and the editor, Mr. J. E. Vincent, quondam editor of the *Wykehamist*.

The illustrations of "The Head-master's Chair," "Frank Buckland's Toys," and "Old Barge and Hills," are reproduced from photographs by H. W. Salmon, photographer, High Street, and "Sixes" from a photograph by Mr. R. Northall, Winchester.

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WINCHESTER COLLEGE

I

THE FIRST PUBLIC SCHOOL

THE history of Winchester College is the history of a community which for five hundred years has stood in the front rank of English institutions. The school has had its ups and downs, its periods of progress and its states of stagnation; it has been relatively to itself more useful, more active, more vigorous at one time than another. It has never faded into nothingness; it has never fallen into obscurity; it has never ceased to produce its quota of eminent scholars. It has never failed to occupy a position of eminence among other institutions of its kind.

There is not an age since Winchester College was founded in which it has not been taken as a model for new school foundations. In the fifteenth century it was the mother of Eton College, and the model for a goodly bevy of college-schools, like Higham Ferrers, Rotherham, Acaster, swept away remorselessly by Edward VI. at the dissolution of colleges and chantries. In the sixteenth century it was the pattern after which Henry VIII. fashioned the new Cathedral Grammar Schools, of which

the King's School, Canterbury, and Westminster may be taken as the principal examples, founded from the spoils and amid the ruins of the monasteries.

It was a common form with those who, in the days of Edward and Elizabeth and afterwards, endeavoured to replace or restore some of the schools which had been destroyed or plundered by the Crown, to direct that the Master should be a Winchester or Westminster man, or that the teaching should be after the fashion of Winchester and Eton.

The latter part of the seventeenth and almost the whole of the eighteenth century was a period of stagnation and decay, among Public Schools, as among other institutions. When the revival began in the early part of the present century its great development is coupled in popular repute with the name of Rugby and of Arnold, the inspired Head-master. But Arnold drew his inspiration from William of Wykeham and Dr. Goddard, and consciously and avowedly reformed Rugby after the fashion of Winchester.

A new brood of Public Schools began to flourish when Marlborough, after an interval of failure, introduced Cotton from Rugby, a Westminster boy, but one of Arnold's favourite masters, and inspired with the Wykehamical *afflatus*.

In our own day the most famous developments have been perhaps those of Bedford School and Bradfield College, the latest to establish their right to rank among the great Public Schools. These are schools of widely

different history, the former among the most ancient of pre-Reformation foundations, and among the earliest of post-Reformation re-foundations, with great possessions in endowment; the latter amongst the most modern creations, and, till quite recently, a proprietary, and almost a private adventure, school. Are not the renascence of Bedford, which will be for ever inseparately connected with the name of J. S. Phillpotts, and the growth of Bradfield under H. B. Gray, due in great part to the large drafts which these two Wykehamists have made on Wykehamical ideas and the methods of Winchester College?

It is certainly a strange, and one may perhaps claim it as a characteristically English, phenomenon that the Public School which is the oldest, and in which the Public School spirit was first developed, should still retain its position among the most vigorous and successful of its exponents, whether judged by the more ancient test of success in the schools, or the more modern test of success in the cricket-field. The secret of England's success as a political body lies in its gradual development of the old to meet the needs of the new, instead of making a clean sweep of the ancient to clear the field for the modern. In no sphere of life, in no institution, is this more pronouncedly shown than in this school. Crowded up to and beyond its utmost capacity when it stood *facile princeps* and unrivalled at the end of the fourteenth century, it is now, at the end of the nineteenth century, though surrounded with increasing hosts of rivals, the result of its own success, still the school on which the British parent

presses with the most devoted and strenuous effort for the admission of his boys.

As the *doyen*, then, of Public Schools, Winchester has necessarily the longest history of any of them; as the place where the Public School ideal was first and has been perhaps most characteristically developed and is still maintained to the present day, it has also the most typical history.

Not the least interesting part of its history is the beginning. What was Winchester College as designed by its founder? How does it compare with the Public School as seen to-day?

Two views of the origin of Winchester College generally prevail. The more common one is, that in or about 1382 William of Wykeham, Bishop of Winchester, twice Lord Chancellor, and what would now be called Prime Minister of England, eminent alike as churchman and statesman, sat down and invented it, and thereby was the first creator and designer not only of English Public Schools, but of English schools at large. The more learned one is, that Wykeham took over, enlarged and developed the school in which he had himself been taught, the School of the Priory of S. Swithun, the Cathedral Monastery of Winchester, endowed and kept by the monks for monks and others, and converted it into a general Public School, such as it is now.

The two views, though often in a sort of blind way held together, cannot both be true. In point of fact neither of them is true.

It is perhaps hardly necessary, now that the doctrines of evolution have, under the guise of the comparative method, spread even into the domain of history, to remark on the essentially unhistorical nature of the common view of the origin of Winchester. Such a view converts Winchester College into a heaven-sent miracle, a kind of academical Athene, sprung full armed (with the *arma scholastica*) from the head of an episcopal Zeus.

Wykeham's own words show that he did not conceive himself as doing anything of the kind. In truth, it is only in a somewhat forced sense that Winchester can be called the oldest of Public Schools. It is only by adopting the narrow and somewhat arbitrary meaning of Public School, which certain schools have arrogated to themselves, and induced the legislature and common parlance to adopt, that Public Schools can be differentiated from other 'Secondary' Schools, in any sense which would enable us to claim Winchester as the first of them.

What do we mean by a Public School? Certainly not simply a school which is open to the public, or supported out of public funds. That is a description which would only apply to a Public Elementary School, and that in common parlance is commonly called an Elementary School, or a Board School. Nor can it be defined as a school under public control or regulated by public authority. That definition would include nearly all the endowed Grammar Schools, and exclude the majority of what are now called Public Schools. It would, for instance, include Cheltenham Grammar School, and

exclude Cheltenham College; it would include Marlborough Grammar School, and exclude Marlborough College.

Nor is it an adequate definition to say that a Public School is a school included in the Public Schools Act of 1867, the reform act of Public Schools. These schools were only seven—Winchester, Eton, Westminster, Harrow, Rugby, Charterhouse, Shrewsbury. A definition which includes Westminster and Shrewsbury, but excludes Wellington, Clifton, Haileybury, Bradfield, cannot be considered exhaustive or satisfactory.

Probably in 1864, when the Public Schools Commission Report was issued, on which the Public Schools Act was founded, the definition roughly given would have been that a Public School was an ancient endowed Grammar School, mainly for boarders, and of national celebrity. Places like Marlborough and Cheltenham would have been classed as quasi-Public or even pseudo-Public Schools. It is probable that to be wholly, or almost wholly, a Boarding School was part of the connotation of the term. The Public Schools Commission indeed included St. Paul's School and Merchant Taylors' School with the other seven. The reason for their being dropped out of the Public Schools Act was ostensibly that the endowments of these schools were claimed by the Mercers' and Merchant Taylors' Companies respectively as their private or "corporate" property. But since the Commission reported that both these schools, then in by no means a flourishing state, should be treated as Day Schools, and therefore necessarily as local schools for London and its suburbs

(as has since been done), their day-school character would seem to have been the real reason for their exclusion from the list of Public Schools included in the Public Schools Act. Whether the fame and success of St. Paul's and Merchant Taylors' are not tending to alter the connotation of Public School so as to include such capital Day Schools, or Day Schools in the capital, is a question not yet solved. On the other hand, even to be exclusively or mainly a Boarding School does not necessarily make a school a Public School. There are many flourishing endowed Boarding Schools, particularly in the North, the names of which it might be invidious to mention, with two hundred boys or upwards, which are not currently regarded as Public Schools. What is the reason? It is much to be feared that it is largely one of money. The fees are low—below £70 a year—and therefore they have not attracted the richer classes, and so the schools remain largely local, and lower middle-class in character.

The only working definition of a Public School then is, that it is an aristocratic or plutocratic school which is wholly, or almost wholly, a Boarding School, is under some form of more or less public control, and is, in the hideous jargon of the late Royal Commission on Secondary Education, "non-local." In other words, a Public School is a "Boarding Academy for Young Gentlemen," which draws its pupils from all parts of the country, and is not a Private Adventure School—a mightily unscientific definition, it must be admitted.

So far has the plutocratic phraseology established itself,

that it is now common to draw a distinction between a Public School and a Grammar School, as if the latter belonged to some distinct and lower order; though a Public School is, in law and fact, only a particular kind of Grammar School. The schools of Winchester and Eton were, and are, simply the Grammar Schools of the Colleges of the Blessed Mary of Winchester and the Blessed Mary of Eton. Eton indeed was made by its original charter a Grammar School free to all, and differed in no respect, except in the value of its endowments, from any other Grammar School. Westminster, as founded by Henry VIII. and re-founded by Elizabeth, was on precisely the same footing as St. Peter's School, York. It was the Grammar School of the Cathedral Church—in Elizabeth's time, and since, the Collegiate Church—of St. Peter of Westminster. Harrow and Rugby, as everybody knows, were ordinary Free Grammar Schools, like any other Free Grammar Schools founded in any other Little Pedlington between the year 1000 and the year 1640.

Yet Winchester did in fact differ even from the first from the ordinary Grammar School class to which it belongs. We have it on record that within twenty years of the opening of the college the school was being conducted on its present lines, with a large number of paying boys (upwards of 100), called Strangers or Oppidans, besides the Scholars and the Commoners, strictly so called.

How far was this in accordance with any express or implied intention of the founder; and, if so, how far was it a new departure?

II

WINCHESTER SCHOOLS BEFORE WINCHESTER COLLEGE

THE idea that William of Wykeham invented "Public" Schools, that is, endowed Grammar Schools, or even Boarding Schools, will not bear the smallest examination.

The originator of Grammar Schools in England was no doubt Augustine, the Apostle of the English. Bede (*Hist. Eccl.*, iii. c. 18, edited by Charles Plummer, Oxford, 1896, p. 162) tells us how in 631 Sigebert, King of the East Angles, "desiring to imitate what he had seen well done in Gaul, set up a Grammar School (*scolam in qua pueri litteris erudirentur*), with the help of Bishop Felix, whom he had got from Kent, who obtained (*praebente*) ushers and masters after the fashion of Canterbury (*Cantuariorum*)."
There was therefore a Grammar School well established in Canterbury before 631, that is, more than thirty years before a reputed (but, as I have shown elsewhere, wrongly reputed) foundation by the Greek Archbishop Theodore, in 670. A school is the inevitable adjunct of a missionary bishop, and we can hardly be wrong, therefore, in attributing the Canterbury School to Augustine. Its post-conquest history (given in the *Guardian*, January 12th and 19th, 1898) starts from 1259, is copious in the next century

between 1306 and 1375, and continues to the dissolution. The school was then re-founded as the King's School, so called from Henry VIII.

A century later than Sigebert's copy of Canterbury School, the famous Alcuin gives us a picture of the Cathedral Grammar School at York, in which he was himself taught, *circa* 734, and himself taught as master in 780, when he was bribed away by Charlemagne to become master of his Palace School at Aachen. It was a Boarding School, and was attended by a crowd of the sons of the thanes. Its post-conquest history begins in 1075, its endowment is traceable from 1181, and it still lives and prospers under its ancient title of St. Peter's School, York (*Fortnightly Review*, November, 1892). Warwick School is mentioned in a deed of 1123, which confirmed to the Collegiate Church of St. Mary's, Warwick, the school "as it existed in the days of King Edward the Confessor" (*Westminster Gazette*, July 26, 1894). It too has a continuous history to Henry VIII.'s time, when it was re-founded as the King's New School of Warwick, and flourishes to this day as two schools—Warwick Grammar School and the Warwick Middle School. Bedford School has not a continuous history, but it is on record as existing before the Collegiate Church of St. Paul's, Bedford, was merged in the Priory of Newenham, about a mile from Bedford—*i.e.* before 1120—and is mentioned again in 1548 (*English Schools at the Reformation*, p. 319). Its existence was no doubt continuous from the earlier to the later date.

In London there were three Grammar Schools in 1137; and the oldest and greatest of them, the Cathedral Grammar School, with the endowments given by Dean Colet about 1512, has multiplied and thriven exceedingly since the Endowed Schools and Charity Commissioners reformed it.

In regard to Winchester itself, there have been so many vague and self-contradictory assertions as to the antiquity and fame of the so-called Priory School, as to Wykeham's own presence at it, and the relation of his school to it, that some space must be spent on Winchester Schools before William of Wykeham. The difficulty of dealing with them lies in having to establish a negative as well as a positive, to show what there was not as well as what there was. What there was not at Winchester, or indeed at any other place where there was a monastic cathedral, was a Monastic School, in the sense in which that term is commonly used, meaning a school maintained by the monastery, kept by a monk, in which monks were taught along with others. In the monastery, and maintained by it, there was not, strictly speaking, a school at all. Two kinds of instruction and instructors were, however, almost universal features in a Benedictine monastery. First, there was the so-called school of the novices; an arrangement, that is, by which the boys or youths being brought up in the monastery to become monks were taught. These boys or youths were kept in a part of the cloister separate from the other monks under the custody of an older monk, who was sometimes called

their schoolmaster, but more often the master of the novices, or the order-master (*magister ordinis*), his main business being to teach them not so much learning at large, as the Benedictine rule.

The second, a very general, but probably late excrescence in the monastic cathedral, was that of the charity boys boarded in the almonry, chiefly to act as choristers in a separate almonry chapel or in the Lady Chapel of the cathedral church, and also to perform certain menial duties for the monks. These commonly had a grammar master assigned to them, and in that sense formed a school; but it was a small affair, and outsiders were not admitted. The master was never a monk, but invariably a secular.

Quite outside the monastery, not maintained as a rule at its cost, certainly not under its control, much less taught by any of its members, was the ancient primeval Public Grammar School of the city, a school of precisely the same character as the Grammar Schools of to-day.

That Winchester College bore no relation whatever to the so-called schools in the priory or its almonry, can be shown beyond doubt or question. Whether it bore any, and what, relation to the Public Grammar School of the city is a more difficult question, but one which must for the present be held to be answered in the negative.

From all analogy there must have been a Public Grammar School at Winchester from 676, the year of the removal of the West Saxon see thither from the Oxfordshire Dorchester. A Bishop implied not a body of

monks sequestered in their cloister, supposed to be occupied entirely with saving their own souls and their benefactors' by prayer and fasting, but a staff of secular clerks busied with the salvation, and therewith the instruction, of their neighbours, and, amongst others, their neighbours' children. But except that Daniel, the first successor to the translator of the see, was a learned man, and a friend of the historian Bede, we know nothing of how learning flourished, or of any school, until we come to the eleventh century. The writer of King Alfred's life, under the name of Asser (the manuscript of which, burnt in the Great Fire among the Cottonian MSS. in 1736, is said to be of the tenth century, about one hundred years after Alfred's death), represents Alfred as educating one of his boys at the Grammar School there.

Edward, the eldest son, and Ælfthryth, the eldest daughter, were, he tells us, bred in the King's Court, "nor among their other pursuits appertaining to this life were they suffered to pass their time idly and unprofitably without liberal learning. For they carefully learnt the Psalms and Saxon books, especially Saxon poems, and are continually in the habit of making use of books." But "Ethelward, the youngest, by the divine counsels, and the admirable prudence of the King, was sent to the Grammar School (*ludis litterariae disciplinae*), where, with the children of almost all the nobility of the country, and many also who were not noble, he prospered under the diligent care of his masters. Books in both languages, namely, Latin and Saxon, were diligently read

in the school. They also learned to write, so that before they were of an age to practise manly arts, namely, hunting and such pursuits as befit noblemen, they became studious and clever in the liberal arts" (*Annales Alfredi*, ed. F. Wise, Oxford, 1722, pp. 42-3).

Dr. Kitchin (Dean, late of Winchester, now of Durham), indeed, in his "Winchester," in the *Historic Towns* series (Longmans & Co., 1890, p. 12), seems to imply that Alfred himself was educated at Winchester. Apropos of St. Swithun, he says, "The kindly saint had gifts of influence and teaching; the youth of Alfred the Great was spent at Winchester under his eye." This is in conflict with the unimpeachable evidence of the Saxon chronicle, which Dr. Kitchin (p. 14) says was made at Winchester by Alfred, "at Wolvesey Castle, with the help of the brethren of St. Swithun's convent," which brethren and convent, by the way, did not come into existence till more than half a century after Alfred's death.

Alfred was in Rome from his fifth to his eighth year at least, as he was sent there in 853, and was there still when his father, King Ethelwulf, died in 857. Between that year and 861, when Alfred's brother, King Ethelbald, and Bishop Swithun died, there is a blank in the chronicle. It is recorded that Ethelbald was buried, not as his father had been, at Winchester, but at Sherborne; as was also his brother, King Ethelbercht, who died in 867. Winchester was destroyed (*abroken*) by the Danes apparently in 861 or 862. The burial of the two kings at Sherborne seems to show that Winchester had become

unsafe ; and certainly, from the time it was "broken," it remained in the hands of the Danes. Indeed, in 878, the year in which Alfred was driven to seek refuge in the marshes of Athelney, we meet with the significant entry that "after Easter, at Ecgbright's stone, on the east of Selwood, there came to meet him all the Somerset men and the Wilts men, and that part of Hampshire which remained of it on this side the sea," or as Florence of Worcester more brutally puts it, "of Hampshire those who had not sailed beyond the sea through fear of the pagans."

This was the year of the far-famed Peace of Wedmore, which did not, however, prevent the Danes from establishing themselves at Chippenham next year, or at Fulham the year after. It is not till 897, when we hear of two Danish ships' crews which, after a battle off the Isle of Wight, were driven ashore in Sussex and "led to the King at Winchester" (and there hanged), that there is any mention of Alfred in connection with that place.

Still we may reasonably suppose that as soon as he could, Alfred removed the capital from Sherborne to its old site at Winchester, making that his headquarters, and that it was at Winchester that his younger son attended the Public Grammar School.

But it is more than doubtful whether Alfred spent, or could have spent, any of his youth at Winchester after he was three years old ; so it is to be feared he cannot be claimed as a Winchester scholar. Whether his son was educated in the Grammar School there or not, at

all events the tenth-century writer believed that there was such a school there in Alfred's day.

In 963 the convent of St. Swithun was established by Bishop Ethelwold forcibly expelling the canons from the cathedral church and house and intruding monks. This revolution, which also took place about the same time at Worcester, at some unknown date at Canterbury, and later at Durham and some other English cathedrals, was fatal to the history and position of Winchester School, though if it had not taken place Winchester College would in all probability never have existed.

For a Public Grammar School, which was an integral and essential part of every cathedral church, in those which retained their old constitution of secular canons, was under the direct care of the earliest and foremost of its officers—the Schoolmaster, who in his later title of Chancellor, remained always one of the four principal officers. But it was no part of a monastic establishment. The Benedictine monks were forbidden by their rule to admit outsiders into their school, which was kept wholly and solely for their own members, novices or “oblates,” *i.e.* boys offered to God, whose parents had vowed in their name that they would become monks. The Public School, therefore, instead of being in the precinct, and furnished with a building at the expense of the church, was thrust out. It still remained indeed under the Bishop; but the Bishop in later mediæval times, from the eleventh to the sixteenth century, was far too great a man, too busy and too ubiquitous, to be safely trusted with the care of a school.

At York and Lincoln, churches of the old (and present) constitution of secular canons, the Chancellor was always resident, and in the vacancy or neglect of the Chancellor there were residentiary canons on the spot to see that the school was efficiently staffed and properly housed; while the large number of youthful clerks about the church, whose interests the Chapter were bound to look after, furnished a constant supply of scholars, besides those coming from outside.

At the monastic cathedrals, the school of the church or city, for the names were used indiscriminately, was not the concern either of the Chapter or any of its officers. Hence it never appears in their records; save in the exceptional event of a vacancy in the mastership occurring during the vacancy in the bishopric, when the monastery as chapter appointed a new master, *sede vacante*. In this way one or two references to the school at Canterbury occur in the monastic registers, while some actual school records occur among the Chapter's records, though clearly not having anything to do with the inmates of the monastery. At Lambeth we can trace the Canterbury School in the Archbishops' Registers in successive appointments of masters up to the middle of the fifteenth century.

At Winchester the Bishops' Registers contain no such items; while the extant Priors' Registers unfortunately do not begin till 1400. There are, however, a considerable number of the accounts of the monastic officers extant, which have been admirably

edited by Dean Kitchin, in his *Obedientiary Rolls of S. Swithun's, Winchester* (Hampshire Record Society, 1892).

The rolls of the various obedientiaries or officers cover a long series of years, from 1312 to 1540. Oddly enough, among nearly one hundred rolls, no two exist for two officers for the same year, and nearly every officer is represented. They effectually negative the notion that there was anything like a real school maintained in or in connection with the priory. The earliest is an Almoner's Roll for 1312, and contains the entry "For beer sent to the Youths' Bishop on Innocents' Day, 3½d," referring to the curious ceremony of the Boy Bishop who on Innocents' Day superseded the real Bishop, and performed all his functions, even to celebrating Mass and blessing the people. This item occurs again in 1317, 1319, and 1353, and in all the years for which the Almoner's accounts are extant; but being mixed up with beer sent to the brethren who celebrated Mass and so forth, the amounts enjoyed by the "Youths' Bishop" separately is not ascertainable.

In 1353 we find another entry relating to "the youths." "In courtesy," or present, "to the Prior, Sub-Prior, Third Prior, youths, and other friends at Fair time," i.e. during the great fair on St. Giles' Hill, 20s. 2d. In the next extant Almoner's Roll, 1386-87, this item is broken up, and the precise purport of the "courtesy" appears. The Prior gets 13s. 4d. "at Fair time for his knives," the Sub-Prior 3s. 4d., and the Third Prior 2s. "Item to seven youths in school for their knives, 5s. 10d.," or 10d.

a-piece. In 1389-90 there are only "two youths in school," who receive 2s. for their knives. In 1398-99, after the opening of Winchester College, be it observed, the entry appears as "in knives bought for eight youths in school, 6s. 8d." In 1404-5 there were five; in 1405-6, four; in 1411, two youths in school. Out of ten more Almoners' accounts, the largest number of youths in school is nine, in 1459-60; in two years, six; while in five years there are only three boys in school. Finally, in 1516-17, we get the entry "for knives bought for youths in the school this year, nothing, because there is no one in the school this year."

Now it might be said that these entries are ambiguous; that the youths in question need not have been novices; they may have been boys in the Grammar School, or, after 1393, in College. Fortunately there is a series of account rolls of another officer, the Hordarian (or manager of the granary?), who had a much larger charge than the Almoner, which also contains similar "curtesies" at Fair time. The earliest roll, 1327, contains a payment to the Youths' Bishop on Innocents' Day for beer, but does not otherwise mention the youths. In seven more rolls, 1330-1337, "curtesies at Fair time" are put down as paid, generally "to his fellows" (*sociis*) or "to the brethren" (*fratribus*), in sums running from 42s. to 48s. Then there is a long gap in the series, the next roll being that for 1382. In it we find, "to three youths in school this year for their knives, 3s." In 1401, "knives bought for five youths in school, 5s.," and in 1406, four; 1409, five;

1470, eight. This item appears in 1485 in the form, "for a payment made to youths in school this year, nothing, because none." Even the Prior and brethren got nothing, because the money was given for repair of the walls of Bledone, a manor in charge of the Hordarian. In 1495-96 comes the "finger-post" entry, as Bacon would have called it; "courtesy at Fair time for knives to the Lord Prior, 16s. 8d.; Sub-Prior for the like, 8s. 4d.; Third Prior, Precentor, and the Hordarian's assistant (*socio*) for the like, 2s. each=6s. And paid to two brethren, *being out of school*, for the like, each 14s.=28s.; and paid to three youths *in school* for the like, each 1s. 4d.; and paid to two scholars studying at Oxford for the like, each 2s. 4d." Here we have the whole convent accounted for, and the distinction drawn between the ordinary grown-up monk who had done his school days, the youthful monks in school, and the two monks selected from the most promising, intellectually, maintained by payments from the Hordarian and other officers at the Benedictine College of Gloucester Hall, now Worcester College, at Oxford. The distinction once made is kept up, and the only other extant Hordarian's roll, made in 1533, shows "two Oxford scholars receiving 2s. each, thirty-seven brethren out of school 14d. each, and one youth in school 1s."

There are only three accounts of the Anniversarian, who looked after the keeping of anniversaries or commemorations of dead benefactors and brethren, which he maintained out of the rents of Bishopston Manor, Wiltshire.

He too sends his beer to the "Youths' Bishop" on Innocents' Day, and pays, in 1394-95 for the knives of three youths in school, next year for two, and the year after for nine.

The Warden of the Works looked after the fabric of the church and monastic buildings. Of him also only two accounts remain. In 1408 he similarly paid his 4d. for beer for the youths on Innocents' Day, "and for courtesy at Fair time for knives bought for two youths in school, 2s., and in 1532-33 for one such youth, 1s."

The Chamberlain was a highly important officer, who, from an income of £79 a year, including 10s. from Lavender (or Washerwoman's) Meadow, now part of New Field, the college cricket-ground, paid the monks the sums allowed them for pocket-money, provided for shaving them, and "sporting" wine on feast days. He paid in 1417 thirty-eight brethren for two terms, and thirty-nine for one term, 6s. 8d. each a term, or £1 a year, and "to two youths in school for two terms, 13s. 4d., and to three youths for one term, 10s."—or at the rate of 3s. 4d. a term, 10s. a year; half what a grown-up and fully-professed monk got. He sent, not beer, but wine to "the Youths' Bishop on Innocents' Day," and at Fair time found the usual courtesy for knives for three youths in school at a shilling a head.

In 1423 is another finger-post entry. The Chamberlain paid twenty-nine brethren for two terms, and thirty-two for the third term; and seven youths in school for

two terms, and four for the next term, clearly showing that the monks "out of school" were increased by the profession of three of the youths from the school, whose novitiate was ended. At the date of the Fair the youths in school had again increased to five. In 1428 thirty-five brethren were paid, but no youths; so that presumably there were none in school, though at Fair time there were three. In 1433 there were thirty-six brethren and six youths in school; in 1483, thirty-one and four; but at Fair time the number of youths had risen to seven.

The inference from these accounts is irresistible. The "school" they mention, the only "Priory School," was a little nursery of novices. In it, as we might expect in the nursery of a body which never numbered more than sixty-four, and was, as a rule, considerably less, there were never more than nine at any one time, generally only three or four, and sometimes none. It is significant that they are always called youths, never boys, and even in the Christmas high jinks the very name of the ringleader was not the "Boy-Bishop," as he was at York or at Winchester College, but the "Youths' Bishop." Clearly the "oblates" had practically ceased to be an institution, and the school of the novices consisted of young men, not of schoolboys. It is not pleasant to think of the Boy-Bishop and his staff being, not

"Nice little choristers, dear little souls,
With their nice clean faces and nice white stoles,"

but a pack of lubberly youths. The Boy-Bishop, how-

ever, was not a monastic invention, and was quite out of place in a monastery at the best of times.

What amount of learning was gotten in this school we do not know. It is a mistake to suppose that the monasteries ever were, at least since the eleventh century, special homes of learning, or monks, as a rule, learned men. The main object of the school was to teach the rule, the statutes and customs of the Benedictine Order. In one of the Parker MSS. at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, is a list of all the monks at Canterbury from 1220 onwards, the names of those admitted each year being given, with, from a certain date, the name of their master. He is described in one place only as schoolmaster; as a rule he is called *magister ordinis*, showing that his duties were rather to teach the rule by heart than any general learning (a thing required by the rule).

A certain proportion of the monks indeed must have been well educated, as St. Swithun's, like other Benedictine monasteries, maintained two scholars at Oxford in accordance with the statutes of the Benedictine Order of 1337. It is very likely that they got their education before they became novices. It is remarkable that there is no mention of them in the Obedientiaries' accounts before 1381-82, during William of Wykeham's reign, the year of the foundation of Winchester College. The mass of monks plainly were very ill-educated. On February 8, 1387, William of Wykeham, from his manor of Southwark, issued certain Injunctions after his third episcopal visita-

tion of the Priory (MS. at New College in possession of the Warden) in these words:—

Also, as some co-monks and co-brethren of our church have little knowledge of Latin (*literaturae*), not understanding what they read, but being almost wholly ignorant of letters, in singing and reading often put a short accent for a long, and contrariwise; and walking in the wilderness out of the way, defile and pervert the sound meaning of the Scripture; and so it happens that while they cannot savour Holy Writ, they are rendered more inclined to do wickedly;

We command you, Lord Prior, in virtue of your obedience firmly enjoining you, that, as to read without understanding is to neglect (*cum legere et non intelligere sit negligere*), a fit master be henceforward assigned for the novices and others not sufficiently learned, who may instruct them diligently in the first sciences (i.e. grammar) according to the institutes of the rule, until being perfected in them, casting away the scales of blindness and the clouds of ignorance, they understand and comprehend what they read, and become, as they ought, better prepared to behold clearly the mysteries of the Scriptures.

As making false quantities still remains a sure test of ignorance of Latin, it is clear that the Priory School was not only a meagre thing in point of quantity, but of quality also. It is obvious from the form which the injunction takes that the grammar-master to be set up is for the novices and ignorant monks only, not for outsiders.

This is made very plain in subsequent references to the grammar-master of the novices. In the first Priory

Register (i. 54) a curious undated letter is preserved from Prior Alton to Cardinal Beaufort, then Bishop, to ask him to send back a certain priest named Robert Bygbroke, whom Beaufort had borrowed for his chapel, who was the song-master of the young monks (*juniorum*) and organist, and also their best singer, "of no great mark among the nightingales of your lovely choir, but so necessary to us country folk, that in his absence the chorus of psalm-singers is mutilated, the melody of the organ is silent, and through this poverty your church is in danger of the laughter and derision of detractors." The Prior prefaces his letter by saying that since his appointment he had, in accordance with the Bishop's injunctions, "sweated," "that the garden under his care may be duly watered by the twofold stream of learning, namely, of song and grammar." In 1497 the appointment of a master "to inform the monks in grammar" is preserved. He was a secular, probably a layman, Master Peter Druett (Drewett), M.A., and he had six marks (£4) a year, four yards of broadcloth of "gentlemen's suit," his dinner daily at the gentlemen's table in the Prior's Hall, and a loaf every morning delivered at his lodgings in the precinct for himself and boy (who was to dine at the Chapel Boys' table), and two cartloads of fuel, or 2s. A special provision that he was to teach no secular boys at the same time with the monks, without special leave of the Prior, is a sign of the abatement of the strictness of the rule against seculars being admitted. In 1510 a similar appointment is made of Mr. W. Parkhows, clerk,

to teach the young monks "dialectic," that is, the usual rhetorical instruction in the classics; but as he was also to act as consulting physician to the convent he received £6 a year instead of £4, he dined at the Prior's own table, and was also found provender for a horse. In December 1538 John Potinger, who had already been holding the office of master, was appointed at the same pay and emoluments as Mr. Druett; but—a mark of the approaching secularisation of the monastery—he was to teach grammar not only to the young monks, but also to "the chyldern (*sic*) of the chapell" and "the chyldren (*sic*) of the Almonry," or Almonry.

It is noticeable that all these grammar-masters for the young monks were seculars, a thing which, though lawful under the Benedictine statutes of 1337 (Wilkin's *Concilia*, iii. 594), does not reveal a high state of learning among the monks.

From all this it is clear that the foundation of the College had nothing to do with the "Priory" or Novices School, if school it can be called, and in no way affected it.

As the Almonry children have been confounded with the "Priory" School, it is necessary to explain who they were. An Almoner (*Eleemosynarius*), or official charged with the distribution of alms, was an essential officer of a great Benedictine convent. He was not at first a very important officer. His duties seem to have been chiefly the distribution of broken victuals at the back-door of

the monastery. In later times, when each of the officers had his separate estate, he grew in importance, and generally developed a separate building called the Almonry or Almshouse, at or near the back-gate, in which a certain number of poor were regularly housed, and among them very commonly a certain number of poor boys.

At Canterbury in 1321 the Prior and Convent definitely founded the Almonry under the Almoner, with a separate chapel and hall, with a staff of secular priests, clerks, and choristers, who were the boys of the Almonry. These boys were intended to be, and apparently were, mere charity boys. Their duty at Canterbury was to wait on the monks when sick in the infirmary. At Durham there was an Almonry with some thirty boys, the functions of whom were much the same. Among other pleasing tasks the boys had to perform was that of sitting all night by the corpses of dead monks (*Rites of Durham*, Surtees Society). They performed, in fact, precisely the same sort of function as we shall see the Queristers at Winchester were to perform for the scholars. In all cases, being there, they were taught, and a schoolmaster kept for them.

In the secular cathedrals the same element of alms was represented in a more ample form at an earlier date. At York, St. Peter's Hospital was maintained by the Chapter from time immemorial, until in the twelfth century it was made independent by King Stephen, and converted into St. Leonard's Hospital. At Hereford, St.

Ethelbert's Hospital is still under the mastership of the Dean. At St. Paul's the Almoner appears very early, and the boys in the Almonry are mentioned in the twelfth century, and were identical with the choristers. A thirteenth-century document complains of their uppishness, and it is ordered that low pauper boys should behave themselves in a fitting, that is, a lowly, manner. Winchester, in respects of its Almonry, seems to have followed the development of the secular rather than the monastic cathedrals. The regular functions of an Almonry were performed apparently by the "Sustern Spital" or "Sisters' Hospital," which was on the site of the present Head-master's house in College Street. The sisters, in varying number from twenty-two, which appears to have been the full complement, to six, the number in 1352, three years after the Black Death, were maintained by the Almoner, whose accounts show year after year payments for their food and clothing and the maintenance of their house and chapel. It does not appear what the sisters did, or whether the sick or infirm were received into hospital, or were visited at home, or whether the sisters were simply a kind of nunnery.

There is no record of any payment by the Almoner or any other Obedientiary for boys in the Almonry, nor any mention of such boys, before an agreement between William of Wykeham and the Prior and Convent for the maintenance of his chantry in the cathedral, August 16, 1404 (preserved in the Priory Register, I. f. 18).

The chantry was to be served by three monks, whose

delightful little effigies may be still seen sitting at the feet of Wykeham's great effigy on his tomb. In addition the Prior contracts that every evening "the boys of our Almonry, living by the alms of our Priory, at the chapel in which the Reverend Father's body is intended to be entombed, shall sing in the honour of the Blessed Virgin the antiphon *Salve Regina*, or *Ave Regina*, and afterwards shall say the psalm *De profundis*, with the prayer *Fidelium* or *Inclina*. For this the Prior shall yearly pay for the benefit of those boys 6s. 8d. a year at Lady Day for the souls of the Reverend Father's father and mother and his own and benefactors' souls for ever." In Moberly's *Life of Wykeham*, it is said of this document in a note (p. 103, or 1893 ed. p. 116), that it "mentions the Priory School as still existing." The only passage which could possibly be turned into such a statement is that quoted. That this is the passage referred to is shown by the definite statement in the text (p. 265, 1893 ed. p. 293): "The boys of the Priory School were also every night to say prayers at his (Wykeham's) chantry." This change of phrase from the "boys of the Almonry" into the "boys of the Priory School" shows the way in which the legends of the Priory School, here and elsewhere, have been built up.

These "children of the Almonry" were, I am inclined to think, identical with the "children of the Chapel," that is to say, that the latter were selected from them, and were of a later origin. Choristers were an integral part of the foundation of the secular cathedral and other collegiate

churches, and at Winchester would be found at St. Cross Hospital, at St. Elizabeth College, founded by Bishop Pontissara in 1301, as well as at Wykeham's College. In monasteries they seem to have been a late innovation. They were introduced at Canterbury, as we have seen, in the Almonry Chapel in the fourteenth century. At Bridlington Priory, Yorkshire, they were introduced in the Lady Chapel by a special foundation in the first year of the reign of Henry VI. (*Rolls of Parliament*, v. 188). At Winchester the first mention of them occurs two years before the first mention of the Almonry boys in the first Priory Register (f. 15-6). Under date September 29, 1402, John Dyes was appointed for twenty years to serve the Prior and Convent in the daily Mass of Our Lady at her altar, as well in singing as at the organ, and in the choir on "double feasts," when the Prior or President celebrated Mass. "He shall also teach (*informabit*) the boys of the Prior and Convent singing, provided that they shall not exceed five in number at once." He was to receive a salary of eight marks (£5. 6s. 8d.), four from the Convent, four from the Prior; a gown with fur of the clerks' suit, and a chamber. He was to dine in the Prior's Hall, without invitation, on all double feasts, and whenever he played the organ in choir.

In 1482 Edmund Pyngbrygge was appointed for life for similar purposes, but his pay and duties were extended. He had a salary of ten marks (£6. 13s. 4d.), with daily dinners in the Prior's Hall, and at the "gentlemen's

table," and three yards of broadcloth for a gown. He was daily to sing, as becomes a chanter, at the Lady Mass in the Lady Chapel, and at the Jesus Mass every Friday in the nave; and on Sundays and double feasts to be present at High Mass and Vespers in the choir. He was also "yearly and daily to inform, instruct, and teach all the boys of the said Prior and Convent, now serving, or hereafter to serve, in the choir of the church, at the time of divine service, in chant and descant, to the number of eight, or less, never more." As the organ is not mentioned, he was probably not also organist.

Twenty-eight years afterwards, in 1510, a new agreement, by way of retiring pension, was made with him. He was apparently relieved from teaching, as the boys are not mentioned. He was to receive only nine marks (£6) salary, but in addition to his dinner, seven loaves, called "chynes," a week, and seven gallons of convent (*i.e.* the best) ale. A year later one Thomas Goodman was appointed by a document headed "grant to Thomas Goodman for teaching the boys of the Lady Chapel," at a salary of seven marks during Pynbrigge's life, and eight marks afterwards, with the usual meals. He was both to sing, play the organ, and teach not more than ten boys singing. Lastly, in 1538, Matthew Fuller, "Syngyngman," was appointed to do the same duties, teaching eight boys "of the chapel" (*capellae*) at a salary of £4. 6s. 8d., with seven chynes and seven gallons of beer a week, but no dinners in the Prior's Hall, apparently.

Though the words "serving in the choir" are used,

yet in view of the heading of the grant to Thomas Goodman, it is very doubtful whether anything more than the choir of the Lady Chapel was meant. However that may be, it may be noted that the number of boys, only four in 1402, though it gradually crept up, never exceeded ten, and that the instruction was to be in singing only. This included, as we know from other sources, reading also, but not "grammar" or regular instruction in Latin. There is no mention of any instruction of them in grammar until the deed, before quoted, in 1538, when the dissolution of monasteries had already been begun, and compulsory dissolution even of the greater monasteries was impending, with great talk of converting them into colleges and grammar schools or places of learning.

The Almonry School and the teaching of the "children of the Chapel" cannot, any more than the Novices' School, be considered a real school, or a Priory School for the public.

III

WINCHESTER HIGH SCHOOL

THOUGH the Priory did nothing for the education of any one but its own novices, choristers, and charity boys, we cannot conclude that Winchester, once the capital of England, and still an important city in Wykeham's day, was left without means of Secondary Education, and without a Public School.

Happily we are not left to guessing. The very record which shows how uneducated the monks were in 1387, also shows us how relatively well educated the clerks and citizens were. The first part of the manuscript at New College, already referred to, is a record of the proceedings in an appeal to the Pope by three successive masters of St. Cross Hospital by Winchester, against William of Wykeham's efforts as Bishop, and therefore *ex officio* Charity Commissioner, to put down abuses in its administration. The original proceedings had begun on March 26, 1368. The hearing of the appeal was delegated by the Pope to the Bishop of London, who opened it in May 1373. In October the Abbot of Hyde was deputed to examine witnesses at Winchester. Twenty-eight witnesses were produced. Half of them were, naturally, clerics, rectors of churches,

and chaplains in Winchester or its neighbourhood. But half were laymen, and of the fourteen laymen, eleven are described as "literate" (*litteratus*), which, I suppose no one will deny, means that they knew Latin. Suffice it to say that in 1274 Merton directed the Fellows of his College to talk Latin (*si qua proferunt eloquio fruuntur Latino*), and Archbishop Peckham, enforcing this as visitor in 1284, directed that "everything said in public shall be in Latin (*literaliter omnia semper in publico proferantur*)." Of these learned laymen one Richard Wynchestre is described as "lord of Otterbourne," and was apparently a country gentleman. Five of them are described as citizens of Winchester, one of them, Thomas Hardy, being an ex-mayor. Two more were of Sparkford, the true name of the village now called St. Cross; one of Winchester; one is described as of Winchester diocese, while one came from Overton, and one from Cheriton. Now, where did all these clerics and learned laymen get their education? The answer is supplied by the witnesses themselves. One of the main questions in dispute was whether the mastership of St. Cross was an ecclesiastical benefice, as to which the holder was not bound to render accounts, or an office in a hospital, as to which he was bound to render accounts.

The whole constitution was therefore gone into, and evidence given that the whole revenues were applicable to the support of two main branches of the charity.

(1.) The inmates, consisting of thirteen poor and infirm brethren, with a warden, four priests, thirteen secular

1120 90

ST. CROSS HOSPITAL CHURCH, 1132-1390.

From drawing by Mr. Percy Wadham.

clerks, and seven poor grammar (*litterati*) boys, who acted as choristers. All these lived in the Hospital, and dined in Hall. (2.) The out-patients, so to speak, namely, a hundred poor men, "the poorest that could be found." They dined daily in a separate hall, the Hundredmen's Hall, where they were regaled with a loaf of coarse bread, and a dinner, cooked by the Hundredmen's cooks, consisting of three quarts of weak beer, a herring or two pilchards, or two eggs, and sufficient pottage or porridge, taken out of a great pot (such as is still to be seen in the Trinity Hospital at Leicester) called the Hundredmen's Pot, with a ladle, called the Hundredmen's Ladle. "Among which Hundredmen there were received in the Hospital, by the Warden or his deputy, daily, thirteen poor scholars of the Grammar School, sent them by the Master of the High Grammar School of the city of Winchester (*Summae Scolae Gramaticalis Civitatis Wintoniensis*), each of whom received the same as the other hundred poor in eatables and drinkables from the goods of the said Hospital." A nice preparation for afternoon school three quarts of beer, even if weak, must have been. The diners were, however, allowed to carry off what they did not consume, so perhaps the beer (in days when there was no tea) served for supper and breakfast as well, though even then it was a longish drink.

Several of the witnesses said that this provision of the poor scholars was "according to the foundation." If so, it came down at least from the twelfth century, for the Hospital was founded by Henry of Blois, Bishop of Winchester,

brother of King Stephen, "within three years of his consecration," which was in 1129. The only foundation deed produced, however, was a copy from the Register of Bishop Rigaud de Asserio (which has now been printed as one of the Hampshire Record Society's publications for 1897), and only mentions the thirteen brethren and hundred men; but the scholars may have been included in the "other benefits to be mercifully performed to those in need." The original statutes, which alone would contain such a detail, have not come down to us. Still, in 1373 witnesses of sixty, sixty-five, seventy, and two who were eighty years old, one of them having been clerk and sacrist of the Hospital, concurred that, upwards of forty and sixty years before, these thirteen grammar scholars "of the poorer sort," as one of them says, daily came from the Master of the High School or the Grammar School (*Scolarum Grammaticalium*—here, as elsewhere, a school is nearly always in the plural up to 1450) of the city of Winchester. This brings the school up to at least the year 1313, when Wykeham himself was not born or thought of.

There is in truth no reason to doubt that this Grammar School of the city of Winchester was a very ancient foundation, far older than the twelfth century St. Cross, and was one and the same with the Public School to which Alfred's biographer depicts him as sending his younger son.

There are but few and casual references to it, however. The earliest is the most interesting, giving us, as it does, the name of the first master known to us, and a famous name too. This was Jordan Fantosme, or, in Latin,

Jordanus Fantasma, the phantom or ghost, a full gentle sprite who told in Anglo-Norman verse the story of the war between Henry II. and his rebellious son, Henry "the young king." This took place in 1174, and Jordan was apparently an eye-witness of that part of the war, which was carried on in the North of England, and ended in William, King of Scots, the young king's ally, being taken prisoner with all his barons at Alnwick. This poem was edited for the Surtees Society (No. 11, 1840) by M. Francisque Michel. On page xxxvii the learned Frenchman printed a document illustrative of the author's life, which shows that already, *temp.* Henry II., Winchester School was a school of profit and a school with a history. It is a letter from John of Salisbury, Bishop of Coutances, acting as papal delegate to Pope Adrian, notable as the only Englishman who ever wore the triple tiara.

"The case of Master Jordan Fantosme and Master John Joichel, clerks of the Lord Bishop of Winchester, has been carried before me. Having heard the case and inspected the documents, we inhibited the said John against teaching school in the same city against Jordan's will." The parties alleged mutual breach of faith, and Joichel appealed to the Pope; but John of Salisbury, while reserving this question, says that he,

Being clear on the right of Master Jordan to the school, after consulting the Bishops of Chichester, Hereford and Worcester, charged the Lord of Winchester not to suffer the said Jordan to be further vexed by the said John on the

matter of the school, on pain of excommunication. A few days afterwards, however, the parties came before us again, Jordan alleging that John had usurped the school again and incurred excommunication. He denied it, and was prepared to swear that he had desisted from the mastership after the injunction.

Jordan was ready to produce witnesses, but the other "refused a day" on the ground that he was "starting for Rome." "Pray," says the harassed judge, "by the help of the Lord put an end to their litigation."

M. Michel assumed from this episode that Jordan Fantosme was Chancellor of the Church of Winchester, the school being the chief business of the chancellor of a cathedral. Abroad, the inference would have been a just one, or in the secular cathedrals such as Salisbury and Lincoln in England. But Winchester Cathedral, having a monastic chapter, had no Grammar School and no schoolmaster or chancellor. Hence M. Michel's failure to find, as he says, any list of the Chancellors of Winchester. The Official or judge of the Bishop's Consistory Court in later days came to be called in some dioceses his chancellor, but he was chancellor of the Bishop, not of the cathedral. I doubt whether he is called chancellor in any Winchester document earlier than a commission contained in the Register of Stratford, Bishop of Winchester, from 1323 to 1333. Wykeham, from an entry in his Register, seems to have had a chancellor who kept his seal, who was distinct from the Official.

In the monastic cathedrals the school was not under

the chapter or any of its officers, but remained under the direct control of the Bishop; and it was his business to support the monopoly of the schoolmaster. Oddly enough, the earliest mention we have of the School of St. Paul's, London, is in connection with the enforcement of its monopoly by this very Bishop of Winchester, Henry of Blois, when he held the See of London *in commendam* during a vacancy in 1187. By a document still extant in St. Paul's Cathedral he forbade any one under pain of excommunication to infringe the monopoly of Henry, Schoolmaster of St. Paul's, by keeping a school without his license in London or the suburbs, except in two privileged churches, the Collegiate Church of St. Martin's-le-Grand and St. Mary-le-Bow or the Arches, the city "peculiar" of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the seat of their provincial court—the Court of Arches. In Winchester there were no privileged and rival churches, and the question between Jordan and John must have been some personal one as to which was rightfully schoolmaster, and Jordan, as the man in possession, had a clear right to put down the keeping of an "adulterine" or unlicensed school.

It has been said (authority not given) that the imaginary "Priory School" was a Free School. It would not appear that Jordan's School was a Free School, or otherwise why should he mind somebody else relieving him of some of his boys?

The next document relating to the School of Winchester is a letter from the Close Rolls (Public Record

Commission, 1835) of the sixth year of King John—*i.e.* 1205. It is dated at London, April 18 :—

The King to William of Cornhill (Cornhill). We command you to make the bearer Geoffrey attend school (*scolas*) at Winchester, and to find him reasonable necessaries. Let us know what you spend on him and it shall be credited to you.

Whether this Geoffrey bore the same relationship to John that another Geoffrey, Archbishop of York, son of Fair Rosamund, bore to Henry II. or not, it would appear that Winchester School must have been of some repute to be thus selected for a royal *protégé*.

The next reference to the School of the City of Winchester is to be found in the Register of John de Pontissara, Bishop from 1282 to 1304. In some statutes made in a diocesan synod at Winchester in 1295 (f. 55) is this regulation :—

Also in churches which are near the schools of the city of Winchester or of the camps (*castrorum*, a foreign word for a fortified town) of our diocese, the holy water is to be given to be carried only by their scholars.

The statute goes on somewhat inconsequentially with directions as to elementary education.

Let Rectors, Vicars, and Parish Priests see that the boys of their parishioners know the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and Salutation of the Virgin, and to sign themselves rightly with the Sign of the Cross ; and the parents of boys should be induced to let their boys, after they know how to read the Psalter, learn singing also ; lest by chance after they have

learnt higher subjects they should be obliged to go back to this, or being ignorant of it should be always less fit for divine service.

The implication that every boy should learn to read, and if possible, to sing, is particularly noteworthy. The point of the order is that fees were paid to those who served the office and carried the holy water to the homes of the sick ; scholars being unable to carry on a trade or earn their own livelihood were habitually poor, and this privilege made a provision for them in the nature of an exhibition. The earliest occurrence of anything relating to scholars in Wykeham's own life is a confirmation of Pontissara's decree by Wykeham as Bishop on 3rd January 1368. He recites it in Pontissera's words, and then says that—

It was observed to within a short time back, fully and without dispute, but some, jealous of our scholars, contrary to the constitutions aforesaid and the custom heretofore observed, have given the holy water to married men, dissolute men, not capable of this kind of schooling (*hujusmodi scholarum non capaces*), especially in the City of Winchester and the neighbouring churches.

He therefore directs his Official to

Revoke anything which he finds has been attempted in this matter to the prejudice of our said scholars of Winchester.

Now as only one licensed Grammar School was allowed, the scholars mentioned can only be the scholars of that school, the High School.

Among the City archives is a roll, now kept in the Mayor's Parlour, the heading of which is so much rubbed that only the first words, "Murage Assessment" (*Regula Muragii*) can be made out. The date, if any, is illegible, but Mr. Riley (Hist. MSS. Commission, Sixth Report, p. 601) says that the names in it show it to belong to the reign of Richard II. Under the sub-heading, "Tenants of the Prior of S. Swithun," occur the words, "From the High School (*de alta scola*) 12d." In the Report above mentioned Mr. Riley attributed the High School to the "tenants of the Abbot of Hyde." But this sub-heading follows the words quoted. The sub-heading above given had escaped his notice. It is very faint, but yet decipherable with certainty. The tenants of the Cathedral Prior would naturally be put before those of the Abbot outside the city. They form, as was natural, the first class on the Roll. At the back of the Roll is a list of names, mostly the same as on the front, but with different sums against them, and appears to be a minute of those who had paid part, probably a half-year's part, of their rates. In this list appears

From the Master of the High School.

From Sir (*Dominus*) John in the same place, 6d.

Whether Sir John was, as is likely, the Usher of the School, or a sub-tenant, is not clear. It would seem that at all events the School being rated was going on.

We are fortunately able to fix the very site of this school in Wykeham's day, and apparently also in Jordan

Fantosme's day. It would be an odd place indeed for a Priory School, to be attended by monks, who were not allowed outside their cloister, being quite outside the precinct. Among the College archives is a deed dated Sunday after Epiphany, the forty-third year of Edward III., A.D. 1348, being a conveyance by Roger of Haywode, citizen, to Hugh le Crane, his fellow-citizen, and John of Holewale, chaplain, of a house and vacant plot of land bounded by Calpe Street (now St. Thomas Street), west; Minster Street, east; a tenement of John of Mottesfont on the north; a corner piece of land of the Abbot and Convent of Wherwell, a vacant piece of land of the Prior and Convent of the Cathedral Church of the said city, and a tenement of the said Prior and Convent, "where the school is now held" (*ubi nunc scola tenetur*), on the south.

In a list of the "Tarrages," which appears to mean assessments of land of the City of Winchester, taken on 18th December in the "fowerth yere of our King Herry the Fifthe," A.D. 1416 (Brit. Mus. Add., 6133, f. 30), is this entry:—

Th' Aldermanry of Colstret and Within-Kingate and Minster-strete on the west part of Minster-street called Motes-corner.

Tarrage of a garden of the Prior and Convent of St. Swithun's in the west part of the High School, 6d. Tarrage of a tenement of the Prior and Convent of St. Swithun, called the High Schole, which Mr. Rafe Grenhurst holdeth, 6d.

In another deed in the College archives of 20th November, 19 Henry VI. (i.e. 1440), the place is still more exactly

defined. Robert Erlegh grants to trustees his capital messuages and four cottages situate between a tenement of Richard Prikier, N.; and "le scole hows" and the lane leading from Minster Street to Calpe Street, S. In 1 Richard III. (1484) William Barnstaple, the surviving trustee under the last deed, leased a garden and part of a house between the late John Prikier's tenement N, and the King's way leading to "le scolehouse" E, a stone wall of the garden, S., and Colstrete, W.

In 36 Henry VIII., 1544, after the monks had again been turned out of the Cathedral to make way for secular canons, it appears from a note of leases, now no longer existing, made by the Chapter Clerk in 1643, that the Dean and Chapter leased to Alice Tytridge for forty-one years at a rent of 3s. 4d. a year, a tenement and garden in S. Thomas parish called High School House, described as having Minster Street on the east, and the lane from Calpe Street on the south. The School can thus be fixed to the west side of Minster Street, now called Symond's Street from Symond's Hospital built in 1607, and the north side of Little Minster Lane, at the corner where the two meet.

Now in a deed in the chartulary of S. Denis Priory of Southampton (Brit. Mus. Add. 15,314, f. 117), one Pentecost, and Aldith, or Edith, his wife, granted to the canons regular of that house "land in Minster Street between the house which was Jordan Fantosme's and the house of Reiner the squire (*scutarii*)," or as it is described in another deed by the same parties, "land in Minster

Street which lies between land of Jordan Fantosme and land which was Reiner the clerk's, at a rent of 2s. for all services to Master John Judicialis." This latter appears to be the "Joichellus" of John of Salisbury's letter, the modern Jekyll. The deed, bringing both Jordan and his rival Joichel into close proximity with the school site, strongly suggests that the school-house was in the twelfth century in the same place as it was in the fourteenth century.

It has always been assumed that the "Priory" School or the High School ceased to exist on the foundation of the College. This seemed to me *à priori* very improbable, as not a word is said as to it in any of the documents relating to Wykeham's foundation; while an ancient institution, such as it was, could not be incorporated or taken over by a new institution without some formal act. Yet it seemed strange that no subsequent trace of the High School could be produced by Lowth or Moberly in their Lives of Wykeham, by Milner or Woodward in their Histories of Winchester, or Mr. Kirby in his Annals of the College. There is, however, direct evidence of its continuance in the records of the College and of the Priory.

In the books of the Steward of Hall, an office filled in rotation by the Fellows, as it still is nominally at All Souls', are recorded the names of those having their commons, dinner and supper, in Hall every week of the year, and also the number and names of the guests. Not many of these books are preserved. But in the fourth oldest,

now extant, that for 8 Henry IV., in the second week of the second term (reckoning from Michaelmas), that is January 1404, is the entry: "The master teacher (*magister informator*);"—the very title adopted by Wykeham for his Headmaster—"of the High School (*de alta scola*) to supper at the High Table." At that time, and until the seventeenth century, a distinction was drawn between the High Table, the Fellows' Table, the Clerks' Table, and the Scholars' Table; while the servants dined separately. The Warden, Sub-Warden, Headmaster, and three or four Senior Fellows dined at the High Table. The other Fellows and Chaplains dined at one of the side tables. Only the greatest people dined at the High Table, so the Master of the High School was an important guest. The next extant Steward's Book is for 12 Henry IV., headed by an eighteenth century hand, "18 Henry IV., 1412." It is really, I think, for 1410-11. In the tenth week of the third term, *i.e.* June 1411, "Mr. Ralph Greenest and five attendants (*famuli*) to dinner with the Fellows," and in the twelfth week of the fourth term, September 1411, on Tuesday and Wednesday, "The Master of the High School to supper with the Fellows." I believe those two to be the same person, and to be identical with the Mr. Rafe Grenhurst who held the High School in 1416, and the Mr. Ralph Grenehurst, LL.B. "having the first tonsure," who received letters dimissory for orders from the Bishop of Winchester (*Wykeham Reg.* III. 352-56) on 6th December 1401, and with the "Headmaster of the High School" in 1407.

It would not be a matter of surprise that Greenhurst should be a frequent guest in College, for he had been himself a Fellow of New College, and in all probability a scholar of Winchester College, as he appears as junior scholar at New College in the Steward of Hall's Book there in the third week (*i.e.* October) 1389. He was admitted Fellow in 1401, the interval being occupied by the regular two years' probation, and was then described as of the county of Southampton. As will be seen, we have Wykeham's own letter, in which he urges the electors to elect without partiality, to show that in 1388 the scholars of New College were elected from the scholars of Winchester. Greenhurst ceases to appear in Hall at New College in 1401, the very year in which he obtained his letters for orders from Wykeham. So that he probably had left New College on obtaining the appointment of Headmaster of the High School of Winchester.

Further evidence of the continuance of the School is that in 4 Henry V. 1416, the Winchester Steward of Hall records in Christmas week "a scholar of Winchester to dinner and supper with the scholars." A scholar of Winchester must mean a boy from the High School; perhaps, having regard to the date, their Boy-Bishop.

Beyond 1420 I have not examined the Steward's books, so I do not know whether there is any further evidence in them of the entertainment of the High School masters. The only subsequent mention of this school, which I have been able to find, is in Register I. f. 134,

of St. Swithun's Priory. On October 18, 1488, the Prior and Convent, as the Bishop's Chapter, confirmed a confirmation by the Bishop, Peter Courtney, dated 3rd March 1486, of a license by the Bishop's "Official of the Episcopal Consistory," John Lychefeld, LL.D. (no doubt the Winchester scholar of that name admitted in 1462, and a Fellow of New College up to 1481), to John Furnew, clerk.

The document, addressed to Furnew, granted him

For the term of his life special license, authority, and power to teach and inform in grammar and literature in the School of Winchester, called in the vulgar tongue "The High Scole," situate by the churchyard of the Cathedral Church of St. Swithun, any who wish to be instructed and informed in this sort of learning; Inhibiting every one, the Master and Usher of the scholars of the Blessed Mary's College, founded by the lord Wykeham, only excepted, from commonly teaching grammar in the said High (*alta*) School, or elsewhere within the city or suburbs of Winchester, or instructing or informing scholars coming to it.

The stress laid on the special character of the license, and the care taken to get a confirmation of it by the Bishop and the Convent, point to something exceptional about this appointment, which has caused it to be preserved. Most probably the exceptional point was that it was a grant for life. Ordinarily school-masters were appointed for a term of years, or at will. But all over the country at this time there was a tendency to give greater security of tenure.

IV

WYKEHAM'S EDUCATION

It has been stated with some positiveness that Wykeham was at the School of St. Swithun, whatever that may mean, and by his Elizabethan biographer, Martin, that he was at school with a learned Frenchman, on the site where the college now stands, and there learnt French, geometry, logic, and arithmetic. The Frenchman was invented because the only extant scrap of Wykeham's writing is a letter in French; the geometry because it is supposed that he was an architect. But French was the ordinary language of the upper classes; and every Grammar School boy, until the last twenty years of the century, had to translate his Latin into French. The statements are as purely imaginative as the statement that he was at Oxford University, and studied under Lewis Charlton, afterwards Bishop of Hereford. We know that he never went to Oxford. It is doubtful whether he was at school at Winchester.

There are only two lives of Wykeham which are of the slightest value as evidence of anything not to be found in documents and charters. One is a couple of pages written on the fly-leaves of a copy of "Pope

Nicholas' Taxation," made, as appears from internal evidence, for Adam of Orlton, Bishop of Winchester from 1333 to 1345.

Who wrote these pages does not appear. The book itself appears from an entry in the list of the College books, compiled about 1426, to have been in the hands of the executor of one of Wykeham's executors, Thomas Aylward, rector of Havant, and this flyleaf biography has been accordingly attributed to the latter. It was certainly written in the first half of the fifteenth century.

The other and more authoritative life is written at the beginning of the College Register, and is dated 1424, "the twentieth year after the death of the said father" (Wykeham). It has been attributed, on the authority of Lowth, correcting the Elizabethan biographer, who quotes it as by Robertus Heresius, to Robert Heete, a Fellow of the College about that time. The register itself was evidently compiled during Thurburn's wardenship, and written by Heete. These are both written in the same hand down to July 1481.

The passages referring to Wykeham's early life are very short. The first is from the Aylward Life.

The venerable father William aforesaid was from his first Grammar School sent to Winchester (*a primaevo litterarum studio Wyntoniae traditus*), in no small degree vowed to God and Holy Church; also frequenting devoutly the threshold of the great Basilica of Winchester, in which (as one hopes) by the mercy of God he afterwards presided, and where now his body lies buried before the image of the Blessed

BUST OF WILLIAM OF WYKEHAM, 1394.

On a corbel in Muniment Room.

From photograph by Mr. J. Abley.

To face p. 50.

Virgin Mary, standing in the chapel in which he has been given to church burial, pouring out daily his own special prayers, he was daily accustomed to hear the morrow mass, then commonly called, from a certain monk, Pek's mass. After he had passed the age of boyhood and had reached years of discretion, he was taken into the service of King Edward III.

Now if this means that Wykeham went to the "Priory" School or the High School, it is certainly an odd way of saying it. If we wanted to say that a boy went to Westminster School, we should not say that after leaving his "t'other school" he went to London and there used regularly every morning to go to the Abbey and hear the Minor Canon in course read morning prayers. It is not Wykeham's learning that his biographer is thinking of, but his piety, his energy in getting up to perform his devotions at that early hour at which the morrow mass was said for the benefit of the early citizen before going off to his work. There were many morrow mass chantries recorded as specially founded in many towns for this very purpose, and Wykeham took over this very foundation at Winchester and perpetuated the morrow mass in his chantry. Of the three masses to be said daily there "the first mass as well in summer and winter shall be said at dawn (*summo mane*), which shall be a Lady Mass (*de sancta Maria*), the other two when the day is lighter at five or six." Evidently Aylward was a mediæval Smiles, imputing Wykeham's success in life to early rising and regular habits.

The "Heete" life gives more information. After telling us that Wykeham was born at Wickham, Hants, in 1323, that his mother Sybil was of gentle birth, and his father John, "endowed with the liberty of his forefathers" (can this mean that they had not long been freed men?), Heete goes on:—

His parents, though of good birth, were not overflowing with riches. Hence the son, nourished in secular letters, not by their patrimony, but by the patronage of others, is sent to be imbued with the first learning (*primitivis scientiis*), but never passed the bounds of the first learning. After he had attained maturity of mind, in the train (*adhaerens*) of gentle (*probis*, the French *preud'homme*) and noble (*praeclaris*) men he committed himself to secular business; and taking on him the office of Martha did not eat the bread of idleness; walking from virtue to virtue; and so (*unde*) he joined a certain squire, the constable, namely of Winchester Castle, as Notary (*vice tabellionis*).

After a few generalities, the Life proceeds:—

It must not be forgotten that at this age he thought it a treat to frequent church, to be instant in prayer, and be present at the sacred solemnity of masses. Moreover (*unde*), he had special devotion to God's blessed mother, in whose honour he often visited St. Swithun's Church, before her image there placed in a column of the same. . . . After two or three years, when he was twenty, namely, he was transferred to the Court of King Edward III.

The passage is by no means as clear as could be wished. It certainly does not say that he was at school at Win-

chester, though it seems to imply that he was boarded, and sent to school by some patron somewhere. Ought we to infer that it was at Winchester? The "Aylward" life, when it comes to speak of the foundation of the colleges, says that Wykeham "created one, as it were, the lesser light of learning, in that place, where he had been accustomed to frequent school at Winchester, and be boarded." The words translated "School at Winchester" are *Studium Litterarum Wynton*, which should naturally be translated Winchester School. So, apparently, the Elizabethan biographer, Martin, took the words, and thereupon invented his learned Frenchman teaching school on the site of the college. But the Winchester School, the only school which could have been entitled to bear that name, was the High School by Little Minster Lane. It is, of course, just possible that Wykeham was boarded in one of the houses on the site of College, and attended the High School. But if he attended that school, why could not his biographers say so? Their oblique and mysterious language seems to point to something out of the common. Was there really a private school held in one of the three houses on the site of College, under license from the High School master, at which Wykeham was boarded and taught? That he must have had a fair Grammar School education is clear from his going, at the age of seventeen, as Notary, or Assistant Notary, to the Constable of the castle, an office in which a knowledge of Latin and French was a necessity. It is clear, from the Heete life, that he never went to the University, as

he never "passed the bounds of primary learning," the *trivium* of the Grammar School.

It is fair to say, that in 1898, I had some correspondence with the late Earl of Selborne on this point, and he adduced the authority of his brother, Archdeacon Palmer, a former Professor of Latin at Oxford, in favour of another translation of the passage in the Aylward life. This was "From his first youth he was sent to school at Winchester," taking *primaevo* as a substantive, and making *studio* the object of *traditus*. But *primaevus* does not seem to be found as a substantive in classical Latin; and it would, I believe, be a solecism in mediæval Latin.

AUDIT ROOM

From drawing by Mr. Percy Wadham

V

WYKEHAM'S CAREER

It would be foreign to this book to deal with Wykeham's later life in detail. It has been amply dealt with by Robert Lowth, Bishop of Oxford (Clarendon Press), 1777; by Mackenzie Walcot (David Nutt, London), 1852; and George Herbert Moberly (Warren & Son, Winchester), 1887 and 1893.

It has been stated and assumed that Wykeham was in the service of, and owed his rise to, his predecessor in the See, Edingdon. There is, however, no evidence of this. There is evidence against it. The only recorded instance of Wykeham's doing anything for Edingdon is in 1352, when he acted as his attorney to take livery of seisin of certain lands in Hampshire. But two months before he had already been appointed attorney to grant livery of seisin of the same lands by the vendor. It was merely a case of a lawyer acting for both sides in a conveyance.

Heete's statement is direct that after acting for two or three years as notary, or in the place of notary, to the Constable of Winchester, he went into the King's service. It is conclusive against Edingdon being his patron that among the numerous patrons and benefactors for whose

souls special prayers were directed in his College Chapels, and Cathedral Chantry, Edington is not once mentioned. Wykeham after being introduced, no doubt through the Constable of the royal Castle of Winchester (whose soul he did commemorate) into the King's service, ran very much the usual course of successful King's clerks. These clerks were all tonsured, of course, and so far clerics, but they often became rectors, canons, archdeacons, and deans without ever taking holy orders, and while remaining eligible for matrimony. They filled the posts, and performed the duties now divided among the Civil Service in all its numerous branches, from the Office of Works to the Foreign Office and the War Office, even to the more directly military duties of providers of provisions and ordnance. They even performed military service itself. For example, in the church of Driffield, in Yorkshire, is the effigy in full armour of a man drowned in flight from the field of Bannockburn. He was governor of castles but his head is tonsured. The King's clerks were largely paid, to the great saving of the royal Exchequer, by ecclesiastical preferments.

Wykeham's rise does not seem to have been remarkably rapid at first. It was not till after the Black Death in 1349 that he received the first benefice known to have been given him, the Rectory of Irsted in Norfolk. His real rise dates from 1356. In May of that year he appears as Clerk of the Works at the royal manors of Henley and Easthampstead, and in October of the same year as Surveyor of the Works at Windsor Castle, with the usual

salary of a shilling a day. In November 1357 he was given an extra shilling a day until he was promoted to some competent ecclesiastical benefice. A few days later he was given the living of Pulham in Ely diocese. In 1359 he obtained his first canonry in Lichfield Cathedral, which, being contested, he exchanged for one of the richest in Southwell Minster. The same year he was made chief keeper of the King's castles of Windsor, Leeds (Kent), Dover, and Hadleigh.

In 1360 he became Dean of St. Martin's-le-Grand, London, an ancient Saxon College, where the General Post Office now stands. That year at Calais he was one of the witnesses to the Peace of Bretigny. Next year the second outbreak of the Black Death, the Second Pest as it was called in the Manor Rolls of the See of Winchester even thirty years afterwards, took place and committed almost worse havoc than the first among the clergy. Vacant preferments became numerous, and were poured on Wykeham. He became Canon and Archdeacon of Lincoln, Canon and Provost of Wells, Canon of St. Paul's, Salisbury, Hereford, St. David's, York, Dublin Cathedrals, Beverley, Bridgenorth, Bromyard, Hastings, St. Stephen's Westminster, Abergwili, Llandewi-Brewi Collegiate Churches, and Prebendary in the Nunneries of Shaftesbury and Wherwell. He was in possession of most of these preferments before he was ordained even an acolyte, but in 1362 he became a priest. In 1364 he was made Keeper of the Privy Seal. In 1366 he was elected Bishop of Winchester.

The next year, his forty-fourth, he became Chancellor

—the Prime Minister of those days. He was turned out of office in 1371, when an attack was made for the first time on clerical ministers; and he was succeeded as Chancellor by a knight, the Master of Pembroke College, Cambridge, which then rejoiced in the charming name given by its founders, of the College of Valence-Marie. In 1376 he was impeached for malversation and embezzlement as Chancellor, at the instance of John of Gaunt, and his episcopal estates were sequestrated. At the end of seven months they were restored to him through bribes (as is alleged) given to the King's mistress, Alice Perrers, on condition of his fitting out three ships and paying the wages of fifty men-at-arms and fifty archers for three months. A month afterwards Richard II. came to the throne. One of the first acts of the reign was to give Wykeham a full pardon, showing, no doubt, that the charge of malversation was a purely political move. During the greater part of the reign of Richard II. Wykeham had little to do with politics. But he was put on the Commission of Regency in 1387, directed against the King's favourites. When Richard himself assumed power in May 1389, Wykeham was again made Chancellor, being then sixty-six years old. During his Chancellorship he is thought to have been the first to institute the recording of the proceedings of the Privy Council. He retired in September 1391. He does not seem to have taken an active part in public life afterwards, though he attended the Parliament which deposed Richard II., and the Privy Council of Henry IV. He

died at Bishop's Waltham, September 27, 1404, at the age of eighty-one.

The wealth accumulated by Wykeham in the six years, from 1361 till he became Bishop, must have been very great. When he combined the Bishopric of Winchester with the Chancellorship it must have been enormous. The bishopric was valued in *Pope Nicholas' Taxation* in 1293 at £2977, which is the nett valuation for revenue purposes, and would certainly not err on the side of over-valuation. In the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, 1535, it was worth £3885. Taking only the multiple of 20, which is under the mark for an income mainly derived from land, as representing the relative value of money to-day, this would represent an income of £60,000 a year. In point of fact we know, from a Return of Episcopal Revenues in 1851, that in 1835 the bishopric was worth £14,514, and in 1850 £28,388; though, like other bishoprics, it had been severely mulcted by Henry VIII. at the Reformation. The celibate bishops had no families to provide for, and though they generally constituted an heir, as did Wykeham, from their collateral descendants, a nephew is not likely to be as expensive a thing as a wife and family, in life or afterwards. The wealth of the great churchmen, therefore, became enormous.

VI

THE FOUNDATION OF WINCHESTER COLLEGE

It was the fashion, indeed one may say a binding custom, for a great churchman to devote a considerable portion of his wealth to pious uses. In earlier times the usual form which this took was the foundation or endowment of monasteries. Wykeham has been represented by Mr. Rashdall, *Universities of Europe*, ii. 504, following the University Commissioners of 1854, as having contemplated the foundation of a monastery. The suggestion is *à priori* exceedingly improbable, in view of the trend of opinion in such matters at the time, and the personal career of Wykeham, a secular *par excellence*. The monastic *furore* had long abated. Its last outburst, at the beginning of the thirteenth century, was the institution of the Friars, who, though living under a rule and professing asceticism in the highest degree, were to mix in the world and be of the world; showing how far the reaction had spread against the ideal of the cloistered monk.

A hundred years before Wykeham's time a great revival had taken place in the institutions for the secular clergy, on the model of the old collegiate churches. Of

WYKEHAM'S SEALS ATTACHED TO CHARTER AND STATUTES,
1382 AND 1400.

To face p. 60.

these Beverley, Ripon, Southwell Minsters in the North; Stafford and Warwick in the Midlands; St. Martin's-le-Grand, London; Hastings, Bridgenorth, Crediton in the South and West may be taken as specimens. To collegiate churches by old custom and by canon law a school was attached. The University of Paris came into being as a development from the school of the cathedral church of Notre Dame; the University of Oxford as a development from the schools of the collegiate churches of St. Frideswide and St. George's in the Castle.

About the middle of the thirteenth century the reaction in favour of colleges of secular clergy was marked. A crowd of collegiate churches, largely founded by bishops, sprang up through the kingdom; while attached to the most ancient collegiate churches small dependent colleges for the subordinate members came into being. It may suffice to mention that Bishop Auckland and Howden were made collegiate churches under the auspices of the Bishop of Durham at one end of the kingdom, while Crediton was augmented, and Glasney College, at Penrhyn, founded by the Bishop of Exeter at the other, between the years 1250 and 1260. In the same way the Vicars Choral of the Cathedral and other ancient collegiate churches, as at York and Lincoln, were gathered into colleges, and formed into corporations or quasi-corporations, instead of being scattered about in lodgings in the towns, whence "grave scandals" arose. A similar movement for similar reasons was going on in the Universities alike at Paris, Salisbury,

Oxford, and Cambridge. The only difference between the collegiate churches elsewhere and the colleges in the university was that the first were founded *ad orandum et studendum*, primarily for church services and secondarily for education; the second were founded *ad studendum et orandum*, primarily for education and secondarily for church services. The ultimate motive of the founders was, however, the same in both, namely, the benefit of their own souls, which it was thought would be more effectively gained by a learned and orderly clergy than by lazy and ignorant monks, or more learned but unorganised and disorderly clerics.

There is no doubt that Wykeham had long had education at heart. We have already noticed his interference, after he became Bishop, in defence of the rights of the scholars of the old Winchester School. Next year, 1369, he was already employing John of Buckingham, Canon of York, and John Rouseby, as his agents to buy lands in Oxford, on which he built what was afterwards New College. (*Moberly*, p. 120, quoting Wood's History, &c. of Oxford, iv. 177.) On September 1, 1373, his Register (iii. 98) contains a striking document, printed at full length in Lowth and Kirby, which may be considered the first draft of the foundation at Winchester, showing that Wykeham already maintained a school there.

It records that Wykeham made an agreement with Master Richard of Herton, grammarian (*grammaticus*), that "for ten years he should faithfully and dili-

gently teach and instruct the four scholars whom the Bishop maintains and will maintain at his own cost, in the art of grammar, and would take no others to be taught without leave of the said father." Herton was, however, allowed leave of absence if ill, "and for a single visit to the court of Rome," during which time he was to find a substitute. The Bishop undertook "to find and maintain for him another fit man to help him in the labour of teaching the aforesaid scholars," i.e. an usher. The document ends with a solemn entry that Mr. Richard placed his right hand in the right hand of the Bishop as a pledge of his good faith in the performance of the agreement. It is curious that this document is inserted in the Episcopal Register, though it could hardly be regarded as an episcopal act, while there is no notice whatever in the Register of the Foundation of the College.

It is thought that during the time that Wykeham was deprived of his temporalities (1376-77) these scholars were dismissed to their homes, as the seventy scholars maintained at Oxford were, according to the chronicler (*Rolls Series*, No. 64, p. lxxx.). Wykeham "broke up his household, sending also to Oxford, where upon alms and for God's sake he found seventy scholars, that they should depart and remove every one to their friends, for he could no longer help or find them. And so they all departed in great sorrow and discomfort, weeping and with simple cheer."

In 1378 he again began buying land at Oxford. Next

year the usual inquisition *ad quod damnum* (not as represented in Moberly's *Life*, p. 206, a special precaution on Wykeham's part) was held to see if the town or the people would be damaged by a "license in mortmain" for the Oxford college, and on June 30, 1379, the license was issued. On November 26, 1379, the charter of foundation for "Saint Marie College of Winchester in Oxford" was executed by Wykeham, for a warden and seventy scholars. On March 5, 1378, the first stone of the building was laid, and it was formally entered by the College on April 14, 1386.

Meanwhile, in 1378, the legal preliminaries for Winchester College were begun with a Papal Bull (*Annals*, p. 436), enabling Wykeham to appropriate Downton Rectory to the support of "a certain college he proposed to establish for seventy poor scholars, clerks, who should live college-wise, and study grammar (*grammaticalibus*) near the City of Winchester." The Bull says that the said Bishop "has, as he alleges, for several years ministered the necessities of life from the goods given him by God, to scholars studying grammar in the same city," and asked for the appropriation of Downton to the Bishop's "table" "for their better sustenance." The scholars were not therefore maintained at Wolvesey as sometimes stated, which was not *in* the city. The site of the College had to be purchased, and for this a license was required. It was issued on October 6, 1382, and three properties, making up the site, were conveyed on October 10-13, 1382.

On October 20, 1382, the Foundation Deed was executed by Wykeham at Southwark, where the town house of the See of Winchester then stood.

The deed is short and simple, unilluminated and unadorned. Even the initial letter, which was meant to be large, and perhaps rubricated, was never filled in, a not uncommon feature in such deeds, it being also the case with the much larger and more pretentious foundation deed of All Souls' College. After a short and pious exordium, ended by the recital that he had been, though unworthy, raised to various degrees and dignities, Wykeham proceeds to say that he had—

Lately erected and founded a perpetual college of seventy poor scholars, clerks, to study theology, canon and civil law, and arts in the University of Oxford; . . . but as experience, the mistress of life, already teaches, grammar is the foundation, gate, and source of all other liberal arts, without which they cannot be known, nor can any one arrive at their pursuit; Considering moreover that by knowledge of letters justice is cultivated and the prosperity of human life increased; and that some students of other sciences, through default of good and sufficient teaching in Latin, deficient in grammar, often fall into danger, where, if they were proficient, they had laid aside their desire.

There are, too, and will be hereafter, one may believe, many poor scholars, busied in school studies, suffering from want of money and poverty, whose means barely suffice, or will suffice, in the future, to enable them to continue and become proficient in the art of grammar. For such poor and needy scholars, clerks, now and hereafter, in order that they may stay and be busy at school (*litterarum studio*), and more

freely and liberally profit in the faculty and science of grammar, and become, as is desirable, more fit for the sciences or liberal arts; to increase the roll of all the sciences, faculties, and liberal arts, and enlarge, as far as in us lies, the number of those studying and becoming proficient in them; we propose, by the help of God, out of the means and goods given us by God, to hold out helping hands, and give the assistance of charity in the form underwritten.

He then proceeds to erect "a college of poor scholars, clerks, near the City of Winchester," and directs that it shall consist of "seventy poor and needy scholars, clerks, living college-wise in the same, studying and becoming proficient in grammaticals, or the art and science of grammar." He appoints Master Thomas of Cranle, bachelor of theology, Warden, and admits seventy scholars, "whose names are written fully in the muniments of the said college." Alas, that record exists no more. The existing Register only begins in 1394. The corporate name is then given, "'Sanctae Mariae Collegium,' or, in the vulgar tongue, 'Sainte Marie College of Winchester.'" The deed then again insists that "the said Warden and scholars and their successors shall, in the same college, live together as collegial and collegiate persons," and he grants them the property "to hold and possess common-wise and in common (*communiter et in communi*) in pure and perpetual alms from him and his successors, Bishops of Winchester." Finally, he reserves the right of making statutes and "rules directive of the school life and school arts."

THE FOUNDATION CHARGER, 20TH OCTOBER 1382.

To save p. 66.

Those statutes must have been made pretty soon, as the College was, certainly from that time, and probably from the date of the agreement with Herton, in 1373, supplying scholars to New College. For a letter is preserved in Wykeham's Register (*Lowth*, App., p. 13) addressed to Mr. Nicholas Wykeham, "Warden of our College at Oxford," and Mr. Thomas Cranlegh, S.T.P. (Warden of Winchester), Sir John Keton, and John Melton, described in it as "Master Teacher of the scholars" (*Magister Informator*), headed "Letter for the election of fit scholars to the colleges of Oxford and Winchester without partiality." After presenting two boys (*clericuli*) of his chapel for admission to Winchester College, Wykeham directs that at next election the electors should choose the best scholars from the College for admission to New College, and for admission to Winchester, the best "from the places defined in our statutes," "but with a preference for four from the parish of Broughton, and four from the parish of Downton, if fit," a preference not preserved in the final form of the statutes. He adds a direction that "while the college remains in the parish of St. John the Baptist on the Hill," St. Giles' Hill, the scholars are to attend the parish church on Sundays and Feast days.

The date of this letter is not given, except that it was written at Esher on April 8, but the context shows that it was in 1388.

We know from the Accounts Rolls that there was a new edition of the statutes in 1394; and another pro-

bably in 1397. But these are not preserved any more than those of the first edition of 1382.

On September 11, 1400, the Founder put the finishing touch to his work by the authoritative issue of a revised edition of the statutes, to which all members of the College above fifteen years of age were required to swear obedience. These statutes were the binding rules of the place until a goodly number were repealed by the Oxford University Commissioners in 1857. The beautifully written original with Wykeham's seal attached, the headings of the statutes rubricated, and the initial letters illuminated, is preserved in the muniment room, together with a like copy of the final statutes of New College issued in the same month of the same year. From the accounts for the year 1399-1400 we learn that a copy of the statutes—was it this splendid book?—cost exactly 16s. 8d. for the scribe, including the binding.

The statutes provide in detail for a Warden, Head Master, ten Fellows, three Chaplains, Usher, seventy scholars, three chapel clerks, sixteen choristers—105 in all; and a large staff of servants who are not defined, but among those mentioned are a porter-barber, baker, brewer, cook, steward, laundress, warden's clerk, valet, and boy.

To gather what was the Founder's object in founding Winchester College we must read the statutes of his two colleges together; the two being parts of one whole. As Wykeham says in Rubric iv., urging the two colleges to help each other in all contests and difficulties—

Our two colleges aforesaid, though situate in different places, issue from one stem, and flow from one spring, and differ not in substance, having no diverse effect. They are next-of-kin, and are called by one name.

For while Winchester was "Sainte Marie College of Wynchester," New College was "Sainte Marie College of Wynchester in Oxenford." It is difficult or impossible to say which was the object Wykeham had most at heart, to benefit Winchester School by sending its boys on to become Oxford scholars, or to benefit Oxford University by sending it Winchester school-boys. On the whole the names seem to show that Winchester was the object of his attachment. Still New College was the first founded, it was the "greater light," and the larger world for which Winchester was the nursery. It is to its statutes we must look first to find his object.

The first clause of the New College statutes, after the usual pious preamble, sets forth with great clearness the object of the foundations.

In the first place then, that the Holy Scripture or page, mother and mistress of all other sciences, may spread, and enlarge its tents more freely beyond the rest; and that the faculty of either law, civil and canon, may peacefully campaign along with it, and philosophy not be wanting to give its dye to the rest, we have created our college at Oxford . . . consisting of divers faculties so that divers faculties may flourish; and, chiefly, that Christ may be more fervently and frequently preached, and faith and the worship of God's name increased and more firmly maintained, the faculty of theology; that so the praise of God may be spread, the church ruled, the

strength and fervour of the Christian religion grow hotter, and all knowledge and virtue be increased in strength.

Further, compassionating the general disease of the clerical army, which through the want of clergy caused by pestilence, wars, and other miseries of the world, we have seen grievously wounded, in order that we may be able partly to relieve it, since in truth we cannot wholly cure it, for this truly in our small way we willingly spend our labours.

In other words, the main object of Wykeham's College was to provide educated clergy (not monks but seculars, for a scholar "entering religion" was to instantly lose his scholarship), to fill up the gaps caused by the Black Death.

Mr. Rashdall, writing on New College in *Oxford Colleges*, edited by W. Clark, LL.D., describes this reference to plagues as mere mediæval rhetoric, the repetition of a formula used after the Black Death of 1348-9, which would not affect an institution founded in 1379. Father Gasquet has suggested in his book on *The Great Pestilence*, London 1893, that the idea that the ravages of the plague were peculiarly great among the clergy arose from the death statistics being more available in their case. Dr. C. Creighton, however, in his admirable *History of Epidemics in England* (Cambridge, 1891), has shown that the Plague is due to cadaveric poison, and points out that the clergy, living mostly by graveyards, and in churches crowded with the dead, were probably peculiarly susceptible to it, and afforded it a congenial habitat.

There is little doubt that the Second Pestilence, the Black Death of 1361, had great effect on Wykeham's career. The first one gave him his first living, the second threw open to him his long list of preferments. We can hardly doubt that Moberly is right in imputing to this Wykeham's taking of holy orders, which like many another mediæval bishop, including Cardinal Pole himself, he might have postponed to the time of his election and taken in a lump when wanted.

The Black Death of 1345, which certainly destroyed not less than a quarter of the clergy, recurred in 1361 in an outbreak known as the Second Plague (*Secunda Pestis*), when it destroyed a still larger proportion among the higher ranks at least. It killed, for instance, three bishops, as against one killed by that of 1348. There was another outbreak in 1368-69, the most pertinent proof of the effects of which was that in the appointment of the Master of York Cathedral Grammar School in that year (*Fortnightly Review*, *loc. cit.*), the term of office was expressly altered by the Dean and Chapter from the ancient period of three, extendible to five years, "because of the late Death and the rarity of Masters of Arts." In 1375, again, "the mortality was so swift that the Pope, at the instance of the Cardinal of England, granted plenary remission to all dying contrite and confessing their sins" without the intervention of a priest. In 1379 the Plague was again raging in the North, when the Scots invaded England, and in spite of their prayers to "God and St. Mungo, St. Ninian, and St. Andrew to be shielded from the

foul death that Englishmen were dying of," were invaded by it in their turn. Or take a test nearer Winchester College. The monks of St. Swithun's Priory numbered sixty-four in 1345. We do not know the numbers of those who died in the Black Death or subsequent plagues; but in 1387, a generation afterwards, there were still only forty-six. At the Susterne Spital the normal number of brethren and sisters was twenty-one; in 1352, three years after the Black Death, there were only six; in 1358, ten; in 1356 they had only risen to sixteen.

Therefore, so far from the reference to the plague being a mere rhetorical phrase, the plague was in sober truth the proximate cause of the foundation of Winchester College.

The ultimate cause was the wish to have a learned clergy. The whole cast of the statutes is that of a collegiate church. Of forty-six chapters, or rubrics, as they are called, only six deal in any way with scholars and learning. The other forty might belong to any collegiate church. While most of them deal with the duties of Warden and Fellows and their management of property, by far the longest and most elaborate Rubric (xxix.), occupying six printed pages in Kirby's *Annals*, is entirely concerned with the services and works to be performed, to which also two other statutes are devoted. In dealing with the *personnel*, it is perhaps not significant that the Warden and scholars were to be clerks, clerics (*clerici*). All education was then a matter of clerical cognisance, and at Oxford even the bookbinders and parch-

ment-sellers were clerks. It is significant that the Warden was to be a priest, and to wear in chapel an "amice" of grey such as canons of a cathedral wore. The ten Fellows were to wear "furred amices" like Vicars Choral, the elder scholars were to occupy stalls in chapel. All scholars were to have the first tonsure within a year of admission, if not before, except Founder's kin, who might put it off till the age of fifteen. None were to be admitted who had any bodily defect which "would render them unfit to take holy orders." They were to wear "long gowns with hoods," and were not to wear "striped, variegated, or parti-coloured clothes, or any not befitting their clerical order." The servants were all to be males. Even the laundress was to have the dirty clothes handed to her outside Outer Gate, and on no account to come into college. In the enforced celibacy of the holy orders, and the discouragement of matrimony among all clerics, the less contact there was with the female sex the better.

Perhaps the most curiously clerical of all the rubrics was the forty-third. It prohibited "throwing of stones and balls or other things in chapel, cloister, stalls and hall, and also jumping, wrestling and other reckless and disorderly games in them," by which "the walls, stalls, pictures, and glass windows of sumptuous work may be defaced." Who but clerics, to whom familiarity breeds contempt, would have dreamt of jumping or playing ball in chapel and wrestling among the stalls? It was, in fact, an ancient custom in the secular churches for the canons and other ministers of the church to play games,

dance, leap and wrestle in the churches. A twelfth century writer—Belet, a canon of Amiens—particularly tells us that it was the custom at Rheims for the archbishop and his canons to play games of ball in the choir at Christmas time—a custom which that sober-sided writer thought would be more honoured in the breach than in the observance. The Council of Salzburg in 1247 forbade games and plays in churches. In Wykeham's own register are contained two injunctions—one of them directed to his own cathedral church, the other to Kingston-on-Thames, forbidding such sports in the churchyard in almost the same words as are used in his statutes about chapel. He was not going to have his beautiful stained glass windows damaged by high jinks. Their destruction was left to the so-called restorers of this century.

The great length of the statutes is largely due to the elaborate and complicated oaths which were prescribed for the various members of the college. The oath system was perhaps an outcome of ecclesiastical rule, though it prevailed down to our own day, long after the peculiar sanction for it disappeared. Before the Reformation the most potent weapon was an oath. Its breach fixed the swearer with the guilt of perjury, and enabled him to be instantly excommunicated. Wykeham gave the reason for his precautions, in that respect, in a famous passage headed "End and Conclusion of all the Statutes." This finally summed up the *pros* and *cons* for his foundation:—

"In my time I have diligently inspected divers approved traditions of ancient fathers and rules of saints, and mani-

fold professors of such traditions and rules, but I am sorry to say nowhere have I found such rules, ordinances, and statutes observed now as of old according to the Founders' intentions. . . . Seeing which, I have thought, that it might be better for me to divide my goods of this world among the poor with my own hands rather than to give them to the trust of fools through the course of ages. But after long doubt, devoutly calling for God's help in my doings, I have irrevocably fixed the eyes of my mind on the relief of poor scholars, clerks in the schools, in the firm hope that learned (*litterati*) men, having God before their eyes and looking to his will before everything, will strictly observe our rules, ordinances, and statutes. To their help and relief therefore I have finally bent the shoulders of compassion, and am prepared for this to spend with all my might my wealth and work. In order, therefore, that craft and fraud may not be perpetrated on my ordinances and statutes, as I have seen happen in so many cases, I ordain and decree on pain of anathema and the indignation of Almighty God, that no one of the priest fellows or scholars of my college," for any reason or by any means whatever, "wrest or interpret anything in my statutes in a sense contrary to my intention, as above expressed. If, at the instigation of the serpent, any one should attempt this, he is to be expelled from the college as a perjurer."

He then insists through a page that no one is to alter the statutes in any particular, or construe them contrary to their plain literal and grammatical meaning.

Now this is the sole passage alleged in support of the impossible theory that Wykeham had contemplated founding a monastery. Surely it gives no support to it whatever. Wykeham's experience of the disregard of

founders' ordinances had been most pronounced, not in regard to monasteries, though he had occasion often enough to rebuke the monasteries' breach of rule, but in regard to the colleges and hospitals, and notably the hospital of St. Cross. The alternative presented to his mind by his experience was not that between founding a monastery and founding a college, but between giving all his money away to the poor in his lifetime and founding a permanent endowed institution at all. Colet, a century and a quarter later, found that married laymen engaged in business were the most trustworthy sort of men, and accordingly gave the management of his school to the Mercers' Company. Wykeham, it seems, had found well educated scholars the best sort, and he accordingly endowed a charity for their benefit, and gave its management to them. It must be admitted that Wykeham's choice was after all the best. The men of business claim the trust property for their own, and their school has only gone to the front since scholars were joined with them in its government. In the darkest days the Fellows of New College and Winchester recognised their trust.

VII

WYKEHAM'S MODELS

IF we look to see who it was that gave Wykeham this good opinion of scholars, we see at once what was the model on which he founded his charity. His agents, from the beginning to the end, were Fellows of Merton College.

When Wykeham first began to set about his preparations for founding New College in 1369, the people he employed to buy the land were two Fellows of Merton, John of Buckingham, Canon of York, and John Rouseby, clerk. He with John of Campden, another Fellow, and Bursar of Merton, witnessed the agreement by Wykeham with the Master of his Winchester School in 1373, and together with the Warden of Merton, John of Bloxham, described as Archdeacon of Winchester, witnessed the Foundation Charter of Winchester College in 1382, in which Thomas of Cranley, another Fellow of Merton, was named the first Warden; just as Richard Tunworth, another Fellow of Merton, had been first Warden of Wykeham's scholars at Oxford in 1376, before their formal incorporation in New College.

The selection of Merton for the model of his College by Wykeham is not surprising. The earliest of Oxford

colleges (for though the original endowments of University and Balliol were earlier, their organisation as colleges took place later), it still remained, in spite of the foundations of Exeter, Queen's, and Oriel, all, by the way, founded, like Merton, by successful king's clerks, the largest and greatest.

Edward III., in a letter to the Pope in 1331 (Brodrick's *Memorials of Merton College*, p. 34), called it "a magazine of the church militant," and this was just what Wykeham designed his college to be. The statutes of New College are clearly adapted in all the main provisions from those of Merton.

The name of the head is Warden, as at Merton, not Master as at University or Balliol, or Provost as at Oriel and Queen's. As at Merton, followed also by Oriel and Queen's, a certain proportion of the Fellows were to be not theologians, but lawyers, civilians and canonists. But the proportion of such at New College was larger, twenty out of seventy instead of four or five only as at Merton, while, in addition, two might study medicine and two astronomy. The institution of Deana, the Bible-reader in Hall, the Scrutinies, or terminal stated meetings, the Progresses of the Warden and Fellows to visit the estates, the provisions for chaplains to do the praying and singing on ordinary days while the scholars stuck to their studies,

direction for Latin to be spoken in Hall, even the references for election to Founder's kin, to the diocese Winchester and then for other dioceses in which the large estates lay, are all taken from the statutes of

JOHN OF CAMPDEN, MASTER OF ST. CROSS HOSPITAL.
(WYKEHAM'S AGENT IN THE FOUNDATION OF COLLEGE.)

From brass in St. Cross Church, by Winchester.

To face p. 72.

Merton. A few additions have been adopted from the statutes of Queen's; notably among them the provision for the Fellows acting in turn as Stewards of the Hall; and the provision for the services being in a private chapel. Merton, following the precedent of the founders of collegiate churches, simply "collegiated" an existing church. He bought the parish church of St. John the Baptist, and made the Fellows and Chaplains its staff of priests, who as usual occupied the choir. The founder of Oriel did likewise, the University Church of St. Mary's being appropriated to it, and the services and chantry masses for the Founder being held there. The Founder of Queen's had, apparently, intended to follow their example, and appropriate St. Peter's in the East for his college. But funds or faculties failed, and in his statutes he makes provision for either a private chapel or an appropriated church. Probably from the necessities of the site, struck also, perhaps, with the successful architectural and practical effect of the rebuilt church at Merton, a choir and transepts stopping short of the nave, Wykeham selected the alternative of a private chapel from the first, and built its choir on the scale of a cathedral.

In divers other particulars Wykeham followed the later and more elaborate statutes of Queen's; above all in that which was its greatest novelty, the size of the foundation. Robert of Egglesfield, Queen Philippa's chaplain, in making his royal mistress patron and founder, designed his college with royal magnificence. In point of fact, he

appointed only a Warden and twelve Fellows, "in imitation of the mystery of the career of Christ and His Apostles on earth." But this was intended to be the initial number only. He set up a rising scale for the stipend of his Provost, according to the increase in the members of the college, from fifteen marks a year to a maximum of £40 if the Fellows increased to forty, as the Fellows at Merton had done. He also made provision, in case of an increase, for the Provost having a separate house and table. It is curious that Mr. Rashdall, in his *History of Universities* (ii. 504), should have selected these three points as marking the novelty of New College when they were thus simply taken from the statutes of Queen's. "The Warden of New College was to live like an Abbot in a house of his own," a most misleading comparison. The separate house was, in fact, the characteristic of the secular canons, their deans and provosts, not of the monks or regular canons, with whom it was an innovation. Applied to a College, it was adapted from Eggesfield, not invented by Wykeham, and did not apply to Winchester, where the Warden was to dine in Hall as a rule, though he had a chamber assigned to him in which to entertain strangers.

It is even more curious that, in the same book, Mr. Rashdall should have tried to establish that a *differentia* of New College was the greater prominence given to religious services. In his provisions in this respect Wykeham strictly followed the precedents of other founders. The scholars had only to be present at the canonical

hours, and high mass on Sundays, and "double feasts." To talk of the "conspicuous absence of provision for College services in the earlier College-foundations," and insist on the singing of *De Profundis* in Hall as a novelty is remarkable, when at Queen's half a page is devoted to dictating exactly the hymns to the Virgin that were to be sung daily in chapel by the scholars, and express direction is given for the singing of *De Profundis* with certain specified prayers after dinner and supper in Hall. Eggesfield made all his Fellows swear to take priest's orders, and his Doctors not actually teaching were obliged to attend the canonical hours; neither of which requirements are to be found in Wykeham's statutes. The requirement to attend mass daily and say fifty Ave Marias for the Founder's soul might be found in the statutes of any poor laymen's Hospital. It was the common form.

Wykeham's character may be cleared from the charge of any peculiarly superstitious innovations. The boys at Winchester were not required to attend chapel at all except on Sundays and Feast-days; nor were any special prayers or hymns prescribed for them. The mechanical observance of religious services was left to the Fellows.

Even in the main innovation of the College for Boys being at Winchester, Wykeham was, to a large extent, following precedents. A Grammar School was, as has been stated already, a recognised appendix to a Collegiate Church. Thus when Bishop Grandisson founded the Collegiate Church of Ottery St. Mary by an ordinance

dated January 22, 1337 (*Grandisson's Register*, 121, seq., ed. Rev. J. C. Hingeston-Randolph, George Bell & Sons, 1894), for eight Canons, eight Vicars Choral, eight Clerks, and eight Choristers, he provided also for "a Master of the Grammar School (*scolarum gramaticaliū*) there, and to teach the said boys," i.e. the Master was not only to teach the Choristers, but to keep a general Grammar School.

The Founder of Merton, in words echoed by Wykeham, seems to have had it rather on his mind that he was taking away from his heirs the right of succession that, as he repeatedly says, is theirs by the custom of the realm; and, therefore, in his earliest statutes of 1264, provided that his next-of-kin should have the preference for scholarships, and

Also if there are any little ones of the heirs aforesaid orphans, or otherwise through poverty wanting due sustenance while they are being instructed in the boyish rudiments, the Warden is to cause them to be instructed in the house aforesaid, until they can profit in the schools, if found of ability,

when they were to be elected scholars. The house was at first at Malden in Surrey, not at Oxford where the scholars were. The same provision was repeated in the more elaborate code of 1274, when the house was moved to Oxford and the scholars lived in it; but the number of the boys was limited to thirteen. A Grammar Master, apparently to be one of the scholars, was to be appointed to devote his whole time to grammar and look after them; though the scholars also were to resort to

him "without blushing" in any difficulties in his "faculty," and he was to see that they talked Latin or the vulgar tongue (French), and instructed the seniors.

In the statutes of Queen's school-boys were also provided for, but in much larger numbers. They were to be "poor youths, to double the number of the scholars for the time being, so long as it did not exceed the number of the seventy-two disciples of Christ." They were to be elected in the same way as scholars, Founder's kin being preferred, then boys from the dioceses where the estates lay. One of the Chaplains, called the Almoner, was to look after their material wants, providing their commons. They were further to be provided with clothes, boots and shoes, lights and other necessities; their worn-out clothes being given to the Almoner for distribution to the poor. Two Masters, a Grammarian, and an "Artist" were to be provided for them, while one of the Chapel Clerks was to teach them music. After a "solid foundation in grammar and competent instruction in plain-song, and also if it may be in 'measured-song,'" they were to devote themselves wholly to dialectic and philosophy. On Sundays and Feast-days they were to dine at a side-table after the cloth had been taken off the chief table. On other days the unhappy boys were to be "posed" at dinner time by the M.A.'s at the high table, the junior Master questioning the junior boy and the senior the senior, and then to have their dinner. They were to be tonsured and serve in chapel as choristers on Sundays and Feast-days, and some of them were daily to take part in Lady Mass. At

fourteen they were to take oath to observe the statutes. They were to leave after studying philosophy for eight years; but any one who became an M.A. was to have a preference for a Fellowship.

It is impossible not to think that these statutes were fruitful in suggestions to Wykeham. The very number of seventy-two, the seventy scholars and two teachers, can hardly be an accidental coincidence. Only, what Eggesfield designed or dreamed of Wykeham carried out. Of the two main distinctions, which, as it turned out, were all important, one—the establishment of the school at a different place from the University College—may have suggested itself to Wykeham or his advisers from their knowledge of the history of Merton, or from the precedent set by another great King's Clerk, Bishop Stapledon of Exeter. At Merton, in 1284, not ten years after the Founder's death, the Archbishop of Canterbury, in a visitation, had occasion to rebuke the Fellows for neglect of their duty in not maintaining the grammar pupils and Master of Grammar. At Queen's College the poor boys, far from amounting to seventy-two, numbered eight. Wykeham learnt, perhaps, what the Endowed School Commissioners ascertained in 1867, that one of the very worst bodies to manage a school was a college. Anxious as he was to benefit the place of his early struggles and subsequent greatness, he may have taken a hint from Bishop Stapledon. Stapledon, in 1314, had founded Stapledon Hall at Oxford, now Exeter College. But, as we learn from his successor, Bishop Grandisson, having seen that those "who had not drunk a

foundation of grammar are rendered useless or at least less useful for higher learning," after founding his college at Oxford for scholars in logic, he had set to work to provide for the "maintenance of boys studying grammar, and receiving instruction in morals and life," in connection with St. John the Baptist's Hospital by the East gate of Exeter. His head and career being cut off by a London mob in the rising against Edward II. in 1326, his design was left to be completed by his successor, by an ordinance of November 18, 1332 (*Grandisson's Register*, ii. 666). Under this the Master and brethren of the hospital, in consideration of the appropriation to them of the church of Yarnescombe, were to provide an "inn" and all necessaries for a Grammar Master, and eight or ten grammar boys, to be elected, two, if possible, from the parish of Yarnescombe, and two or one from the Archdeaconries of Totnes and Cornwall, while the Dean and Chapter were to send three choristers, whose voices had broken, and the De Columbers, patrons of Yarnescombe, were to name one. The election was to be by the High (*Summus*) Master of the School of the City of Exeter, and the boys were to know their psalter and plain song. They were only to board in the hospital, and were to attend the City Grammar School for a period of five years, unless they got on very quickly. This school was plainly intended as a nursery for Stapledon Hall.

Another suggestive foundation, which must have been known to Wykeham, when Archdeacon of Lincoln, was the Burghersh, or Burwash Charity, adjacent to Lincoln

Minster, founded by Bishop Henry of Burghersh (in honour of his father), or with Sir Bartholomew de Burghersh, whose effigy lies in the choir aisle. This was founded *circa* 1327, about the same time that Bishop Burghersh was reconstituting the statutes of Oriel College, Oxford. It consisted of five chantry priests and six poor boys "professing the art of grammar," who were to be kept at the Grammar School (of Lincoln) from seven to sixteen years of age. Whether they were then intended to proceed to Oriel College is not stated, but is probable.

Yet another institution from which, as Canon of Salisbury, with which diocese he had a good deal to do, Wykeham may have got hints, was that of the College of St. Nicholas of the Valley scholars, attached to the hospital of St. Nicholas, by the bridge of Salisbury.

This was a very remarkable institution, being no less than the first recorded University College in England. Its foundation, by Bishop Giles of Bridport, in 1261, was older by three years than Merton College. Its early history reversed that of Merton. The scholars lived under a Warden at Salisbury, Salisbury then being practically a University. The Cathedral Records show that in 1278 the Chancellor of Salisbury Cathedral School—Schoolmaster as he is called in the statutes of St. Osmund in 1090—asserted his authority over them, just as the Chancellor of Notre Dame asserted his over the University of Paris. In 1325, however, the embryo University of Salisbury having practically come to an end, the majority of the scholars went to Oxford, where they lived

in Salisbury Hall, at the cost of the endowment of the college at Salisbury. The scholars who remained at Salisbury apparently spent a period of probation there, attending the Cathedral Grammar School before going on to Oxford. Except that they were one institution, and not two, Salisbury Hall and St. Nicholas College were thus an almost exact precedent for the two St. Mary Colleges of Winchester.

VIII

SCHOLARS AND COMMONERS

IF then, neither in founding a school in connection with an University College, nor in placing that school elsewhere than at Oxford, nor in the intended size of the school, was Wykeham doing anything new or unprecedented, where, it may be asked, did the novelty come in? Was there any new departure at all?

The answer is, yes.

In the first place the scale on which the whole foundation was carried out was novel. The mere number of the scholars of New College—seventy—was almost equal to the whole number of the scholars of all the other Colleges put together, and its endowment did actually exceed that of them all put together. If Winchester were reckoned, the preponderance of Wykeham's foundations was, of course, immensely increased. But this novelty, after all, only represented the growth of wealth and intelligence, though it marked significantly the path in which future founders would tread, spending their money on secular Colleges and educational foundations instead of on the monasteries of the Dark Ages. If Wolsey's foundations had been allowed to continue to

exist, they would in wealth, numbers, and stateliness, as much have eclipsed Wykeham's, as Wykeham's did Merton's or Egglesfield's.

In the next place it was an innovation when Wykeham confined his College at Oxford to those who came from his Grammar School at Winchester. We need not here discuss whether in the long run this was the best thing for the College or for the School. It was certainly a good thing for them both at that time. It ensured to the College a far better-educated set of Fellows than was possessed by other Colleges, and for the School it held out rewards which must have been the strongest inducement to industry.

The really important new departure was taken, a real step in advance made, when Wykeham made his School a separate and distinct foundation, independent of the Oxford College. Others had erected Collegiate Churches for university students. He erected one for school-boys. The old Collegiate Churches had kept Grammar Schools, and flourishing Grammar Schools, but they were, though inseparable accidents, still accidents. The new Collegiate Churches at the University, called Colleges, substituted grown scholars for priests, and study for services, as the essence of the institution, but the school-boys remained an accident, and a rather unimportant accident. In Winchester College the accident became the essence. The corporate name of "Warden and scholars, clerks," stamped the School and the school-boys as the aim and object of the foundation. The Collegiate Church form

was preserved, the Fellows occupying the place of Canons, but instead of the boys being subordinate to the Canons the Canons were subsidiary to the boys. For the first time a school was established as a sovereign and independent corporation existing by and for itself, self-centred, self-controlled.

Though Winchester was an independent corporation it was bound by close ties to New College. New College elected the Warden of Winchester, who was to be a past or present Fellow of New College, and the Fellows of Winchester were preferentially to be or have been Fellows of New College.

Every year the Warden and two Fellows of New College were to visit Winchester and hold a visitation, which was called a scrutiny, of everybody there. At this visitation they, with the Warden, Sub-Warden, and "Master Teacher in grammar" of Winchester were to elect the scholars from Winchester to New College and also from outside to Winchester. The election to New College was (except in the case of Founder's kin who had a right of admission, if fit, even up to the age of twenty-five), strictly by competitive examination among those who were, or had been, scholars of Winchester. The fittest (*magis ydonei*) were to be elected. The election to Winchester was also on examination, but the examination was not, seemingly, to be competitive. Founder's kin, wherever born, had an absolute right to admission at any age from seven to twenty-five. The others were to be "poor and needy scholars, of good character and well

conditioned, of gentlemanly habits, able for school (*ad studium habiles*), completely learned in reading, plain song and old Donatus." They were to be between eight and twelve years old, but might be admitted up to sixteen years old if they were sufficiently advanced to be able to be perfect in grammar by eighteen. Preference was to be given, first, to inhabitants of the places where the estates of the College and of New College lay: next, to natives of Winchester diocese; then, in the order named, to inhabitants of the counties of Oxford, Berks, Wilts, Somerset, Essex, Middlesex, Dorset, Kent, Sussex, and Cambridge; and, lastly, to the inhabitants of the kingdom of England. All were to have the first tonsure, or be tonsured within a year of admission, except Founder's kin, who need not be tonsured till fifteen. Choristers of the College were to be eligible, and to be examined with the other candidates. No conditions are laid down as to selection, if there were several candidates, each equally qualified by residence and "able and fit;" the examiners not being bound to elect "the fittest." Either it was not contemplated that there would be more than enough candidates of equal qualifications to fill the vacancies, or it was intended that the electors should have a power of patronage. Certain it is that the omission of the little word *magis* resulted in a system of absolute patronage, tempered only by corruption and Founder's kinship.

A great deal of discussion has taken place, and much excellent eloquence run to waste on the qualification of

“poor and needy.” It was alleged and argued when agitation began on the subject of the education of the poor, especially when Lord Brougham’s Commission of Inquiry concerning charities was at work from 1818 to 1835, that there had been a robbery of the poor in the matter of Endowed Schools; that the persons entitled under the Founder’s statutes to the benefits of Winchester College were the poor in the sense of the poor law, the destitute poor, the gutter poor, or at least the poor labouring classes. There is not, I believe, a tittle or a shred of justification for any such allegation in the case of any Public or Endowed Grammar School founded before 1627, or probably before 1700, except in the case of Christ’s Hospital, and the very few Blue Coat Charity Schools, founded in imitation of it before the latter date. Christ’s Hospital, founded by public subscription as a Foundling Hospital and school for gutter children, was entirely different from the other Public Schools. In its case the allegation is absolutely true. In the case of Winchester it is absolutely false.

The test of poverty to qualify for admission as a scholar is to be found in the oath which every scholar had to take on reaching fifteen years of age. “I, N., admitted to the College of St. Mary, near Winchester, swear that I have nothing whereby I know I can spend beyond five marks a year.” Now five marks, or £3. 6s. 8d. a year, was an appreciable yearly income. The limit of value for the exemption of church livings from taxation of the tenths payable to the Pope was fixed at five

marks a year. There were sixty-seven livings below that value in the diocese of Winchester, according to "Pope Nicholas' Taxation" in 1290. Many of them were only worth £1 a year; many more only £2 a year. The pay of a Fellow of Winchester College was £5 a year; of a "conduct," £2. 13s. 4d. a year. His commons at a shilling a week would about double that. The stipend of a Fellow of Merton was only £2. 10s. a year. It is clear, therefore, that £3. 6s. 8d. was a living for a grown and select cleric, and a very considerable income for a boy. In the case of scholars who had gone on to New College, the amount which merited a fellowship was an inheritance of £5 a year, or a benefice of ten marks, £6. 13s. 4d.

It is practically impossible to arrive at any estimate in money of what actual income to-day would be represented by an income, derived from land, of £3. 6s. 8d. in 1394. Roughly speaking, the income of £450 a year, considered by Wykeham as sufficient for his College, now amounts to £18,000 a year, or forty times as much, and is insufficient.

A more easily estimable test is laid down in the passage already quoted from the Foundation Deed, of those "busied in school studies, whose means barely suffice to enable them to continue and become proficient in grammar."

Even now it is out of the question for one who lives on daily wages to keep his son at school to the age of eighteen, much less to send him to the University.

In the fourteenth century the education of the labour-

ing classes was not thought of. It would be an absurd anachronism to credit Wykeham with the idea of a "ladder from the gutter to the University." It was probably quite a novelty for the lower middle class, the small farmers, mostly serfs or villeins, to get their sons educated. I have seen in a Durham Priory Register the manumission of a Fellow of Merton who was a serf. But as late as 1397 the House of Commons sent up a bill for prohibiting the sons of villeins from being sent to the University. At Eton they were expressly excluded. We hear, indeed, a great deal about the poor scholars who sang *Salve Regina* at rich men's doors. Such a poor scholar of Oxford is entered as dining in Hall at Winchester in 1424, and he was sent to dine with the servants. So was a begging friar, while minstrels and scholars of New College dined with the Fellows. But these poor scholars were poor in a very different sense to the poor in an Alms-house or a Hospital. They corresponded to the University and Public School men who are found digging ditches in Colonial gold-fields, not to the diggers of ditches on an English farm.

It may, indeed, be doubted whether the use of the phrase *pauperes et indigentes* was much more than a necessary common form, arising from the "constitutions" of the legates Otto and Ottobon in the thirteenth century, which had forbidden the appropriation of churches unless the inmates of the houses to which they were to be appropriated were in such stress of poverty that they could not otherwise be supported. As usual, the lawyers

were too strong for the law. The appropriation of churches went on apace. The only result of the enactment was that in the deed of appropriation words had to be inserted protesting the poverty of the recipients. It was probably to meet this law that Stapledon placed his Exeter scholars in St. John's Hospital for the poor; and others followed him. It was necessary for Wykeham to protest the poverty of the scholars for whom he was appropriating churches and priories.

It is possible that the poor boys of Queen's were really intended to be paupers, as they were of the almonry type, and were to act as choristers; but the scholars of Winchester were certainly not intended to be of that type, a clear distinction being drawn between them and the choristers. The choristers, sixteen in number, were to be admitted "by way of charity," and were to make the Fellows' beds, wait in Hall, and dine off the fragments and broken meats, if sufficient, of the Fellows' and scholars' tables. They were, it is true, eligible for scholarships. Whether they were ever elected is another matter.

As to the actual facts of the case, the way in which the phrase was interpreted by Wykeham and in Wykeham's time leaves little room for doubt. The institution of Commoners is of itself sufficient to disprove the gutter and pauper theory. Commoners were common in all common halls. We meet with frequent references to them in colleges of vicars-choral at Collegiate Churches. They were forbidden at Merton and Queen's, and in almost the same words at New College and Winchester,

“lest they should hinder the advancement of the scholars, or be burdensome to the college.” Wykeham, however, was more liberal than his predecessors, as he allowed friends and relations of Fellows or scholars to be entertained for two days at their own expense; and at Winchester (though not at New College) a stranger on business might be invited to pass the night in college. Then by a sort of postscript to Rubric xvi., “Of not introducing strangers at the charge of the college,” is added the famous clause which contains in germ the “Public School System” :—

We allow, however, sons of noble and powerful (*valentium*) persons, special friends of the said college, to the number of ten, to be instructed and informed in grammar within the said college, without charge to the college, so that by occasion thereof prejudice, loss or scandal in no wise arise to the Warden, priests, scholars, clerks, or any of the servants of the same.

This clause is interpolated in front of one forbidding any *conventicula et tractatus*, which Mr. Kirby, by an anachronism of two hundred years, translates “prayer-meetings and sermons.”

This last occurs in a longer form in the New College statutes, where “wines” (*convivia*) given on the taking of a degree by strangers, and the *congregationes et tractatus* of laymen and clerks are forbidden. *Tractatus* means “treat.” It is the same word as our “school treat.” Like *congregatio* and *conventicula* it was a technical term for the meetings of the Guilds, which were invari-

ably followed by feasts. In the Rolls, for instance, of the Tailors' Guild of St. John the Baptist, held in St. John's Hospital at Winchester, among the city archives, the expenses of their yearly "Gaudy" are put down under the heading of *Tractatus*. Its object was the same as the rest of the Rubric, to prevent the quiet of the college and its studies being disturbed by rowdy strangers who had "looked on the wine when it was red," and might wish to paint the college the same colour.

Now, if the college boys had been "gutter children," or even children of the labouring classes, is it conceivable either that Wykeham would have sent his own nephews and relations, men risen in the world, probably newly risen, to mix with them? Or would the "noblemen," in other words, the country gentlemen of Hampshire and elsewhere, have sent their sons to school with them; not gratis but for payment? The middle classes and the upper classes who subscribe to Dr. Barnardo or the Gordon Boys' Home do not think of sending their children to share the privileges of education with the inmates of those institutions.

Mr. Kirby (*Annals*, p. 109) thinks the clause as to Commoners was not in the original scheme of Wykeham, but added "about two years after the college was opened." I cannot agree with him. The theory is upset by the dates. The college buildings were opened in 1394. Additional statutes or new statutes were made in that year. Commoners appear in 1395: and may have been

there in 1394. Their names are only known to us from a few Hall Books which are fortunately preserved. The earliest book is for 1395-96, beginning at the second week. Mr. Kirby says this book begins in the second term, but it is clearly earlier, for heading the list of scholars appears the name of J. Wykeham; which name disappears the next week, because he then went to New College, and his name is entered in the Scholars' Register as going there in September 19 Richard II., i.e. September 1395, the first month of the first term.

James Ramsey appears in this book as an *extraneus commensalis*, or "stranger commoner," but his name is crossed out. "Why," says Mr. Kirby, "we have no means of knowing." Yet the means of knowing are on the opposite page of the book, where Ramsey appears as the last name on the list of scholars, interpolated in a different shade of ink. It so continues throughout the term; the explanation being that Ramsey was admitted a scholar on October 28, 1395, but by mistake had been continued on the list of *extranei* or *extranei commensales* as they are indifferently called, a mistake rectified at the end of the term. The next Commoner was Richard Stanstede, who appears in the fourth week with *ve. p^o* or *venit primo* against his name. In the two next weeks he is entered as Richard Bedahampton or Badehampton; in the seventh week he appears as Ricardus simply, and in subsequent weeks as Ricardus, with Stanstede added in a different ink by way of correction. When he arrived from his home, where, no doubt, he had been always called

plain Richard, it was in doubt whether he should be called Badhampton or Stanstede, one of them probably his father's name, the other the place where he was born or lived. In the eleventh week his name is scratched through, and on Innocents' Day, the second week of second term, he is found not among the scholars but as "clerk of the chapel." In March 1397 he took orders as an acolyte (Wykeham's Register, i. 409). In the next Steward's Book, 1401, he had received promotion to be a "conduct." He can hardly claim, therefore, in any strict sense, to be the first Commoner, as he came not as a schoolboy so much as on probation for the very inferior position of chapel clerk.

In the year 1396-97, in the Warden's Account Roll, there appear as having commons with the Fellows "two sons of Uvedale." But if, as seems certain from the names, the second earliest extant Hall Book is for the same year, the Uvedales were, in addition to the regular *extranei commensales* who paid for their commons, entered as such on the Steward's Book. Perhaps the Uvedales slept at Wolvesey, and were paid for by Wykeham. They may be regarded as the first Commoners who came as such, and remained such to the end.

Others are regularly entered in the Hall-book as *extranei commensales*. In the first term there were eight of them; in the second term they increased to eleven, one more than the statutable allowance; but one of them, Thomas Clerk, is called *puer officialis*, which probably means something in the nature of a pupil teacher; as the

year before, and in the first part of this year, there was a *coadjutor* who dined with the scholars. The names of the eleven were, Cranleygh, sen., Cranleygh, jun., relations, no doubt, of the Warden and Archbishop of Dublin of that name, Vowle, Pope, Bannyng, Bynnebury, Tryesh, Mordon, T. Clerk (*puer officialis*), Bannebury, and Simon. Of these, one of the Cranleys, one of the Banburys and Mordon, got into college in 1397, and Pope and Banning in 1398. The next two known Commoners are John Popham, one, no doubt, of the still flourishing family of that name of the Isle of Wight and Dorsetshire, who in 1400 was pardoned arrears of commons for thirty-one weeks at a shilling a week, "by the Founder," and J. Tyttelside, "cousin of Mr. Chylter," who owed 18s. 3d. for commons.

The next list of Commoners is in the Hall-book 1401-2, and gives their payments for commons as well as their names. It begins with Lucays, Sy (probably the same as Say) and Perys, of whom Say paid 10d. and the others 9d. a week. Next week Ryngborne, who paid 12d. a week, the rate of a Fellow's commons, joined them; and in the fourth week, Chelray (Childrey, Berks), who must have come of very rich parents, as he paid 14d. a week. He perhaps dined at the high table. In the ninth week Langrysshe, paying 10d. a week, came. In the second term Ryngborne, not to be outdone by Chelray, paid 16d. a week, and Perys was raised to 10d. Chelray was away for the Christmas holidays for three weeks. When he came back he, too, paid 16d. a week, and the noble army

of one and fourpennies was reinforced by Hussey. Next week another recruit came, named Delamare. A month afterwards two more arrived, whose names are spelt in every conceivable way, intended apparently to mean Fitzwarren and Whitby. The payments after this are not as a rule given, but at the end of the second term we find Ringborne, Delamare, Fitzwarren, Hussey and Childrey paying 16d., while Say, Langrish, Lucas and Whitby paid 10d. a week. Lucas disappears after the twelfth week of the fourth term, but only to reappear next week as junior in College. Langrish went into College in the ninth week. Finally, in the eleventh week is a "Memorandum of a scholar of London called Edward Fysymond, having the whole commons of the scholars for that week, for which allowance is made." He appears in the list of Commoners, but is scratched out and added to the list of scholars, to which he was admitted in October as Fitzsimmonds of Goddesden, Essex. In the next Steward's Book, 1406-7, there were again eleven Commoners, Clyfton at 14d. a week (not 12d. as Kirby), Langforde at 12d., Daniel, Sarybury or Salisbury, Heende, Parvus Thomas (little Tom) at 10d., and Bedminster, Scheppe, Wolphe and Hulle or Hulse at 8d. a week. Of these Hulse and Hende became scholars in 1407, and Wolf in 1408. Hulse was, no doubt, a relation of the person of that name for whose entertainment there was paid to "Guy, cook of St. Cross, when Robert Huls was invited on December 10, 1399," the sum of 12d.

The fact that so many of the Commoners, who *ex hypothesi* were the sons of noble and powerful persons, became scholars, has an important bearing on the "poor and needy" qualification. It shows that these were purely relative terms, that a considerable proportion at least of the scholars could afford to pay their boarding expenses, and that the scholars and Commoners came from the same class.

Take, again, among the scholars such names as those of the Brokays or Brocas, a well-known family in Hampshire—one admitted before 1394, another in the following year. Still more noteworthy are two of the Faringdons of Faringdon (now ffaringtons) in Lancashire, near Preston, who are still lords of manors there, one of whom heads, and another occurs in, the list of admissions of scholars in 1398; whose relative, Mr. Robert Faringdon, travelled with a priest, a valet, a boy (*garcio*) and a page in his train, when he was entertained in college in 1402.

That a proportion, at least, of the scholars must have been of gentle birth from the first, may also be inferred from the letter of the Founder directing a visitation of New College in 1385 (*Lowth*, App., p. x.). Quarrels had been going on, through, in the words afterwards adopted in the statutes, "odious comparisons" (*comparationes quæ odiosæ sunt*) of "family against family, gentle birth against no birth" (*nobilitatem ad ignobilitatem*), and contests for the first places in Hall.

There can, therefore, be very little doubt that, by "poor and needy," Wykeham meant the poor of the upper

and middle classes, those who then, and still, furnish the ranks of the learned professions ; all at that time included in one profession, the clerical.

Winchester College was intended to prepare for Oxford University those who could not without help give their sons the benefit of a university career.

To sum up, Winchester College, while no novelty in itself, either in being a foundation for secular clerks, and not for monks, or in being a collegiate church with a Grammar School attached, or in being a preparatory school for a University College, or even in its designed numbers, or the admission of Commoners, and those of the higher ranks, was yet by virtue of its combination of all these characteristics on a grander scale than had yet been seen, a new departure, and the first of Public Schools, as that term is now understood.

IX

THE SITE AND BUILDINGS

THE buildings erected by Wykeham were on the same great scale as the foundation. There are so few domestic buildings—or buildings at all, other than churches, existing from before or near Wykeham's date—that it is difficult to realise the splendour of the scale on which he built for a mere tribe of schoolboys, as his contemporaries may have said. But when we compare Winchester with what remains of the original buildings of Merton, with Haddon Hall, with the Garden buildings in Worcester, which still bear on them the insignia of the abbeys which contributed to the Benedictine Gloucester College, or, even with the later secular colleges such as Lincoln and All Souls', we can form some idea how much the greatness of his design was in advance of the current scale of his day. New College remained the grandest structure as well as the greatest college in Oxford, till Wolsey set himself to eclipse it in Cardinal College. Winchester College cannot compare with New College in beauty or grandeur, even though the front quadrangle of New College has been ruined, architecturally, by the addition of a third storey and a sham battle-

ment. But Winchester must have far outshone Merton, Exeter, Queen's or Oriel.

It was natural, some may say, that the greatest architect of a magnificent age should have built on this grand scale. It is, however, far from certain that Wykeham was an architect at all, except of his own fortunes, and very improbable that he was the architect of Winchester College.

The notion that he was an architect does not seem to depend on any contemporary testimony or any "tradition" earlier than Henry VIII. The only suggested contemporary evidence is a complaint of Wycliffe's that the way to get ecclesiastical preferment was not to be a faithful priest, but to be a "kitchen clerk, a penny clerk, or a clerk wise in building castles." Without more, *non constat* that the castle-building clerk refers to Wykeham, or that if it does, it refers to him in his capacity as architect rather than as a business manager. Wykeham was undoubtedly appointed in 1356 *supervisor* of the King's works in his castle and park of Windsor, at a salary of 1s. a day, afterwards raised to 2s., in which office he assisted, or succeeded, John Brocas and Thomas de Foxley, both of them Hampshire men, the latter being one of those for whose souls the chantry portion of the colleges was to perform its devotions. In 1358 William of Mulsho, a canon of Windsor, who succeeded Wykeham a few years afterwards as Dean of St. Martin's-le-Grand, was appointed *supervisor* of Windsor, and the next year Wykeham was made "chief warden and

supervisor” not only of Windsor Castle but also of the three great southern castles, Leeds in Kent, Dover, and Hadley, with the manors and parks of those places, and Sheen, Eltham, and Langley. The question is whether *supervisor* means “surveyor” and architect, or merely overseer or superintendent. In 1384 the Chamberlain of Berwick was made “clerk of the works there,” “warden of the victuals and artillery,” and also “chancellor.” Chamberlain meant treasurer, as in the City of London still. Was this an architect’s appointment, or was it not merely that of a lawyer and man of business? In 1474 Richard Beauchamp, Bishop of Salisbury, was *supervisor* of the works of Windsor Chapel, the present St. George’s, then being rebuilt, and was succeeded by Sir Reginald Bray. Was this Privy Councillor and Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster also an architect? The details of Wykeham’s appointment as *supervisor* specify his duties, which were not to design the building, but to impress workmen, and provide stone, timber, and other materials; to hold courts and inquisitions, criminal and civil. The “Master of the Works” (*custos* or *magister operis*) of places like Beverley Minster, was always one of the clerical staff, generally a vicar choral, and his duties were merely financial, not architectural. (*Beverley Chapter Act Book*, 1307–47, pp. 224, 281, 341. Surtees Society, 98. 1898.) When building was being undertaken, the mason, a regular officer of the Minster, was summoned to return.

Wykeham is recorded to have rebuilt the nave and

cloisters of the Collegiate Church of St. Martin's-le-Grand, London, when Dean, but the addition of the words "at his own expense" points to his being the builder in the sense of providing the funds and directing the work, not of acting as architect. At the most *supervisor* would appear only to mean "clerk of the works," and the clerk of the works is not the architect.

Most of the facts above-mentioned, and the inferences suggested, are taken from *Notes on the Superintendents of English Buildings in the Middle Ages*, by Mr. Wyatt Papworth, which originally appeared in 1860, but were republished in the *Transactions of the Royal Institute of British Architects*, vol. iii., 1887. Even Queenborough Castle, claimed for Wykeham's own building, is shown to be claimed by Gibbon the Historian for an ancestor of his who was "marmorarius" there. The author of these scepticisms, I am bound to say, throws discredit on his authority to all Wykehamists by the terrible remark: "for what has been said the execration of some 400 Wykehamites has been promised." But the paper is extremely learned, and the subject is one of very great interest, and it is to be hoped that some one with a first-hand knowledge of mediæval documents will carry it further.

The claim that Wykeham "invented" the Perpendicular Style has, of course, long been abandoned. The facts as to Winchester Cathedral certainly throw considerable doubt on his claim to be architect of it.

Dean Kitchin has shown (*Winchester College*, 1898—

1893. "Wykeham's Work in Winchester Cathedral") that a very small part of the nave of the cathedral, usually attributed to him, was done in his lifetime. It had been begun under his predecessor Edyngdon, who built the west front (which cannot be called imposing), and two bays on the north, and one bay on the south aisle. He died in 1366. Wykeham died nearly forty years afterwards, 1404. By his will of 24th July, 1403, he ordered his executors to complete the aisles and glaze the windows, while the middle or body of the church between the aisles, from the west door of the choir to the west end of the church, was to be re-made and repaired in walls, windows, and vault, on the model (*conformiter et de-center secundum exigentiam formamque et modum*) "of the new work of the aisles already begun." The nave therefore itself had not been begun, though, as Wykeham's chantry was built, the pillars up to the clerestory must have been completed. The vaulting contains the arms of Waynflete as well as Wykeham and Beaufort, so that it was not finished for a full half-century after Wykeham's death. Wykeham willed that—

The whole arrangement (*dispositio et ordinatio*) of the new work shall be made by Mr. William Winford, and if need should arise (*si oportuerit*), by other sufficient and discreet persons, skilled (*approbatus*) in that art, to be named by his executors, while Sir (*Dominus*) Simon Membury, now *super-visor* and paymaster (*solutor*) of the work shall continue to be so, under the supervision, witness, and control of brother John Wayte, monk of the Church, now controller of it.



OUTER GATE.

From drawing by Mr. Percy Wadham.

To face p. 109.

William Winford, in 1370, described in the Issue Roll of the Exchequer as mason (*cementarius*), was by command of the Chancellor (Wykeham) to retain masons to be sent to the King beyond seas. Winford's portrait appears in the east or "Jesse" window of Chapel at Wykeham's head, together with that of the carpenter and Simon Membury. Now if the *supervisor* was the architect then Simon Membury was. But he was the Bishop's man of business, Treasurer of Wolvesey, the Bishop's Palace. He it was who handed to Warden Morys, on the 6th and 20th of April 1394, £110 to go on with, and who paid £220 more at various times to 1401. (*Annals*, p. 151.) But it was with Mr. William Winford that on All Saints' Day, 1394, in the second Account Roll for 1394-95, "a stone-cutter (*lathamo*) and a carpenter made an agreement for building Outer Gate." As between Membury and Winford there can be small doubt that Winford was the "architect" of the College, and Membury merely did for Wykeham what Wykeham had done for the King; looked after the business part of the arrangements and supervised the expenditure of the money found by his employer. Mr. William Winford, mason, had certainly by some means "thriven to thane-right," for in Wykeham's Register he appears as a landed gentleman with a license for a private oratory. If the chief mason was the architect of the Middle Ages, with architects' fees, this is natural enough; if he was only a builder, at weekly wages, working on others' designs, this would be more difficult to explain.

I am bound to say that since this was written I have come across a passage in Horman's *Vulgaria*, published in 1519, which tends to show that the "master of the works" was the architect. "A maister of warkes called Ctesiphon buylded the temple of Diana at Ephesus" is translated *Ctesiphon architectus*.

Leaving the question of the builder, let us look at the buildings themselves.

"Not wholly in the busy world, nor quite
Beyond it blooms the garden that I love"—

Wykeham might have said of the site of his college. A former bishop had built his college of St. Elizabeth over against the gates of his Palace of Wolvesey—a small thing, for a Provost, six fellows, six vicars, six clerks, six choristers. Wykeham placed his greater College of St. Mary as nearly over against the same gates as the former college would allow. Both of them were outside the "humming city" and among the pleasure gardens of the monastery, in the bishop's soke. The land, under five acres in extent, was bought from the monastery; and was bounded by its Sisters' Hospital, where the Headmaster's house now stands, on the west; by the "Priors' Garret," a kind of summer-house, and the private road to Prior's Barton,—the charming old house a little beyond the end of New Field,—on the east. South of it lay the garden and land of the Carmelite Friars. The open water meadows and the Itchen lay beyond both south and east, crowned by the soft swell of St. Catherine's

Hill. North lay the great mass of the cathedral. The site was magnificent, not to be approached by that of any other school but Eton, until the eighteenth century.

In those days a running stream was, if not a necessity, yet a great desideratum for any collegiate establishment. At Winchester there is no lack of clear and swiftly running waters. The same stream which served the Priory was made to do duty for the College. After leaving the Priory precinct it was divided, and made to flow on each side of College. One branch flows through the Warden's garden, and is reputed a lovely trout-stream. Another flows by Meads wall out of sight; a third runs under Commoners, having served for the Sisters' Hospital.

The name of this stream was the Lorte-burn, a name which has been so often misread Lock-burn, that when it was for once read right (*Annals*, p. 8) in an agreement by Wykeham with the Prior and Convent to stop their defilement of it, Mr. Kirby pronounced it to be an error of the scribe. The error had been in the reader. In the accounts for 1405-6, two carpenters were paid for making a gridiron (gredyre) at the entrance of the water of Lortebourne, and for making spars and stalls in a place near Meads wall. In 1543-4, nearly a century and a half afterwards, another carpenter was paid 4s. 7d. for making the "flud-hatches in Lot-bourne." I strongly suspect that it is so written in Mr. Kirby's extract from the accounts for 1584, and not Lok-borne. The name is widespread. There was a Lort-burn serving the same

purposes at Newcastle-upon-Tyne in the fourteenth and sixteenth century (*Old Newcastle*, by J. R. Boyle. Elliot Stock, 1890). There was a Lort-gate in Beverley in the fourteenth century, now called Lurk Lane (*Memorials of Beverley Minster*, I. li. 269); and the lane behind Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, was also called by that name. It is very doubtful whether Log-pond, a shallow depression in Meads, now dry, had anything to do with the stream or its name.

College is not, it must be admitted, "fair to outward view," as seen from the road which it has christened College Street. At Oxford, New College was built so as to present the absolutely blank wall of its cloister on one side, its almost blank-walled brewery on the other side of a narrow lane, forming a kind of barbican to the massive gateway. The Oxford University Commissioners, who seem to have had monasteries on the brain, imputed this to a desire for monastic seclusion. But it was not a monastery but a castle that the designer had before him. When, not half a century before, a Town and Gown row had ended in the whole country side flocking into Oxford, crying "havoc" and killing clerks by scores, it was highly desirable that the clerks' dwellings should be made secure. There was not the same danger at Winchester, with Wolvesey, then a strong castle, close by. Still it was necessary to be on guard against a sudden outburst of the *civium ardor prava jubentium*. Hence the frowning front presented to the road by the

long unbroken line of the College building from Outer Gate to the corner of the College precinct. The brewery, the slaughter-house, the wood-house, none of them buildings requiring much window space, and deriving the most of their light from windows on the inner side, form this long line. Inside there are two quadrangles, called Outer Court and Chamber Court. Outer Court is a long oblong, and was about two hundred feet in length. It contained the offices, including the buildings already mentioned, on the right or west of Outer Gate, and granaries where the Warden's house now stands, on the left. Outer Gate has a statue of the Virgin and Child in the middle. The room in it, above the porter's lodge, was the Steward's Chamber: it being convenient for the tenants, and other strangers who came to see him, without interfering with the College work. Middle Gate, through which, by an archway, is the passage to the Inner Court, is a fine two-storeyed tower; embellished on each side by a statue of the Virgin (crowned) and Child in a niche in the middle, flanked by similar niches on a slightly lower level, containing Wykeham kneeling, and the Angel of the Annunciation, Gabriel, standing. The statues of the Virgin are of great artistic merit. They are somewhat decayed. But it is to be hoped that the hand of the restorer will not be allowed to touch them. They will last a few hundred years yet.

Chamber Court, nearly a square of 115 feet each way, contained the whole collegiate establishment. The Warden's chambers, afterwards called Election Chamber

were in the tower over Middle Gate, just as at New College they were in the great gate, there the Outer Gate.

On passing through Middle Gate the attention is at once arrested by the pile of buildings in front, forming the south side of Chamber Court. In that one block were comprised all the public buildings of the community; Chapel flanked by the tower containing the sacristy and muniment room, on the east side; Hall, with School below, flanked by Kitchen on the west. A quiet stateliness is their main characteristic, and their beauty is derived from simplicity of line and aptness of arrangement rather than from any evident effort of style or wealth of ornament. One wonders whether they looked more beautiful when in virgin white, fresh from the mason's hand, than now, when they have acquired the thousand mellow tones and tints of age. They seemed supremely beautiful to Chandler, who attempted to picture them in the fifteenth century, in all the freshness of their youth; they do not look less beautiful to us seen through the memories of a hundred generations of scholars.

This block is built wholly of stone. The other three sides of Chamber Court occupied by the chambers of the other members of the College ranged around the Warden, were built in flint, with stone mullions and quoins, and a roof of "heeling stones" or "stone slates." There were six tiers of chambers, two storeys each; three on each side of Middle Gate. The scholars occupied the ground floor with about eleven boys in each chamber. Above, First,

Second, and Third, east of Middle Gate, were filled by nine Fellows, three in each chamber; Fourth was the Warden's chamber; Fifth, the chamber of the ten "Commensales"; and Sixth was occupied by the Master Teacher, Usher, and Tenth Fellow. The sixteen choristers were packed, and pretty tightly packed, into Seventh chamber—not the present Seventh chamber, which was School—but a room behind Sixth, now cut up and used as a cellar, and only to be approached from kitchen. Above it was the room of the three chaplains, and perhaps the three chapel clerks, now the Second Master's drawing-room.

The dimensions of Chapel are said to be 98 feet long, 30 feet wide, and 57 feet high. It was divided into two by a rood screen, the place of entrance to which can still be seen on the south wall, a little east of the Chantry under Tower.

The rood screen, with its three great figures above, Christ on the Cross, with Mary and St. John, one on each side, effectively cut off "ante-chapel" from view, except for the airy space above. The effect produced must have been one of extreme height—perhaps the most impressive quality in architecture. With the windows, glowing with their original deep hues, and the walls covered with the paintings to which the Founder refers with evident pride and affection in his statutes, with the various coloured hangings at and about the altar, and (though this was not original) the silver statue of the Virgin given by Cardinal Beaufort, and the gold

tabernacle given by Henry VI. gleaming above the altar, this chapel must have been one of the richest gems of mediæval architecture, the finest and most artistic form of building which the world has seen.

Behind Chapel are Cloisters, which were used for a burial-ground for dead Fellows, and a school and an oratory for living scholars. They are untouched and beautiful; though their amenity must have been somewhat spoiled by the addition of Chantry, which blocks out a good deal of sun and air.

Between Chapel and Cloisters stood the original tower. As shown in the drawing made by a Warden of New College about the middle of the fifteenth century, which forms the frontispiece to this volume, it was round and surmounted by a spire. The excellent Warden's draughtsmanship, however, left a good deal to be desired. He made all the windows round instead of, as they are, pointed, and it is therefore rather doubtful whether the tower was round, square, or octagonal. If the drawing is a good representation, the present tower, built 1474 to 1480, was a decided improvement. The late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries were the great tower-building epochs. The Tower at Winchester is a most beautiful specimen of the work of that age, and is a striking feature in the view from far down the Itchen valley. It was rebuilt, because of a failure of the foundation, in 1863. But the stones, when taken down, were numbered and replaced stone by stone, so that to outward view, at least, we have the same tower. As it now stands on

a concrete foundation, instead of one of piles, one may hope it may endure for an odd thousand years more.

Hall outside is unaltered. Inside it has a fine roof, and the windows, with stone seats in them, are graceful. There is now an Elizabethan wainscot behind the high table, and half-a-dozen pictures above it. One of them is of great interest, being the earliest picture of the Founder, with representations of his two colleges in the background. As that of Winchester is depicted with the original tower and spire, the picture cannot be later than 1475, and may be earlier.

The general aspect of Hall is bare and cold, stripped as it has been of the hangings and paintings and cushions which adorned it. That it was not thus bare we know. The reference to paintings in the statutes applies to Hall as much as Chapel; and the Account Rolls contain many indications of furniture. Thus in the first of them there is a payment of 7s. 10½d. for 28 yards of worsted bought for "bankers," i.e. cushions, "for Hall"; "bakers" they were still called in my day, and sometimes even now; "making them and linen for their covers," 2s. 2d. more. Behind the high table there was a piece of valuable tapestry, for no less than 28s. was expended in 1397-98 on a "doser" of worsted for Hall, and carriage of it from Staines. In 1448 it was repaired and then called the "great dosser." In 1399-1400, 1½ yards of "stamyn" were bought to make the Founder's Arms on a hanging for Hall, and 1d. was spent on a sheet of paper for painting the design of the arms to be re-

produced on the hanging. On John the Baptist's day, June 24, Hall was embellished with green candles and boughs of trees (Roll of 1407-8), and at other times with rushes and straw and the like. There was a fire in it, on probably an open hearth. An iron stove, adorned with "scutcheons," was put up in 1548.

Hall must have presented a much more cheerful scene than it does now when the Warden and Head-master, the Sub-warden and three or four senior Fellows daily dined at the high table, and the other Fellows, and the three Chaplains, dined at "senior end" of the side table; and both at High Table and the Fellows' table there were generally three or four guests, and sometimes a greater number. Especially cheerful must it have been on Saints' days, when in winter after dinner or supper Fellows and Scholars stayed in Hall, and had "College singing," and recited "poems, and histories, and the wonders of the world, and other matters befitting the estate of clerks." (Rubric xv.)

The Kitchen adjoins Hall, at the foot of the staircase leading up to it. It was, and is even now, a fine building, though it has been shorn of its original fair proportions. It runs up the whole height of the buildings, and was originally aired and lighted by windows on each side, still visible, though those on one side are now blocked up. The fire, according to Mr. Kirby, was an open one, on the middle of the floor until 1520, there being no chimney till then. The "music room," now approached from the Hall staircase, and the lobby below, were carved out of the

THE TRUSTY SERVANT, c. 1560.

THE TRUSTY SERVANT, c. 1560.

*From drawing in MS. of Christopher Johnson's poem "De Schola Collegiata,"
in Fellows' Library.*

To face p. 118.

kitchen "in the sixteenth century." Until then there was direct access to Hall from the kitchen, so that one cause for the greasy condition in which the meat sometimes arrives—when the band of servitors has to go out of doors before going up the great staircase, open at the bottom to all the winds of heaven—did not exist.

The lobby contains the far-famed figure of the "Trusty Servant"; which is, perhaps, the most popular object to the visitor—especially the female visitor—to College. It is now clothed in a Windsor uniform, put on in honour of a visit from George III. in 1778. In Christopher Johnson's MS. it appears in sixteenth century Elizabethan garb, and the well-known Latin verses inscribed beside the figure are attributed to his pen. Its ancient and present aspect are both shown in our illustrations. It has been guessed that the figure has a foreign origin, the scenery in the background being said to be "Flemish or German," and the broom "such as Flemish 'Buy a Broom' girls sold in London seventy years ago." But what are the criteria to distinguish Flemish from English scenery, especially in the sixteenth century? The broom is an ordinary broom for hearth-sweeping when wood ashes, and not coal, had to be dealt with. The art of painting was no more strange to the English nation than to others. There is a certain class of antiquarian which, when it finds a piece of fine glass-painting, sculpture or fresco, must needs at once set to work to find a foreign father for it. The Trusty Servant may surely be allowed to be a native production.

Outside the kitchen, a very conspicuous object in Chamber Court must have been the lavatory or "conduit." A stone trough and a brass tap are all that now remain of it, and the visitor is generally left with the impression that all the washing that was done by the scholars was done in the open air, even in the depth of winter, at this trough. But the marks of the penthouse roof which covered it still remain on the wall. The accounts for 1399-1400 give evidence of quite a large expenditure on the original, to John the Plumber (*Johannes Plomer*) for covering "la condyt" near the kitchen, 6s. 8d., to a carpenter for making the "machine" of the "fountain" by the kitchen, and the lavatory there, 47s. 9d.; and to John the Brazier (J. Brasyer) for four bolsters of brass for the same, and for covering the house above the fountain, 3s. Mr. Kirby translates *machina* "a windlass," and *fons* "well," but surely there was not a well there, but a spout and basin arrangement as at Canterbury.

The boys washed in comparative comfort, under cover and in an enclosure.

The open Ionic portico, which took the place of the old conduit, and is shown in a drawing in Mr. Mansfield's *School Life at Winchester College*, 1835-40, was built in 1651 at a cost of £10. 0s. 6d. It was open, seemingly, because the water was carried in basins into chambers, an employment which must have added new joys to the lives of the unhappy juniors.

X

THE OLDEST SCHOOL BUILDING IN ENGLAND

UNDERNEATH Hall is the original School, now called Seventh Chamber, since from 1701, after the new, now old, School was built, to 1875, it was a sleeping chamber. It is now a day study for the boys, who sleep in three upper chambers.

Historically, this is far the most interesting building of any. It is the only ancient school building of the fourteenth century now existing. Of the fifteenth century we still have the school buildings of two great Wykehamical founders, Chicheley's school of his college at his place of birth, Higham Ferrers, in Northamptonshire; and Waynflete's school at his place of birth, Wainfleet, in Lincolnshire.

It is, perhaps, illustrative of the difficulty that even an innovating mind like Wykeham's had in making a new departure, that the school was not made a separate building, but was subordinated to Chapel, Hall, and to Kitchen, though Wykeham does speak of it as "the great house, *magna domus*."

Its present dimensions and aspect do not give an ade-

quate idea of its original state. A great slice was cut out of it to form "Seventh Chamber Passage," the way out to School, in 1687. The archway of that passage is the original school doorway. The window, which lights the passage above, also is part of the original window. Before the curtailment, its dimensions were (*Annals*) 45 feet 6 inches long, 28 feet 10 inches wide, and 15 feet 3 inches high, from the present floor, which is, no doubt, higher than the original floor.

A description of this earliest existing English school, written in the middle of the sixteenth century, gives us a detailed picture of its interior. It rested on four posts, that is to say, four wooden columns supported the ceiling and hall above. One of them still remains. The light came in through three windows in the south wall. All of these remain, though one, as already stated, lights Seventh Chamber passage, and is shorn of its lower portion. In each window were benches of stone "for the eighteen prefects, so that they might preside over the others." These benches, in a triple row, still remain in the two remaining windows.

Opposite, on the north wall, was a large open map of the world—a better one, we will hope, than the Hereford *Mappa mundi*, which dates from about a hundred years before. On the east wall hung "The Requirements of Quintilian." This undoubtedly means the "Code of School Laws"—*Tabula Legum Pædagogicarum*, a slightly modernised version of which adorned the east wall of the School of my day. As an organ now stands

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there, it has been moved, and now hangs above the door on the north wall. The west wall, proceeds the poet, holds the famous device:

Aut disce aut discede, manet sors tertia, cædi.

This characteristically mediæval jingle may be rendered, "Learn, leave, or be licked." This, too, was reproduced in the School of 1687, on a huge board still on the west wall. It depicts, above the "aut disce," the rewards of learning, a mitre and crozier; above "aut discede," the emblems of the alternative professions, the army or the law; and above the third alternative, the "bibling-rod" of four apple-twigs. But the emblems are, alas! portrayed in the style of 1687, and not of 1894. The "bibling-rod" is said by the author of the poem to have been "invented" by Warden Baker, 1454-87. If so, its reign lasted just about four hundred years. It is now deposed.

Underneath the *disce aut discede* was a conspicuous object, which was not to be found in the later School or any modern school. This was "the rostrum in which we are wont to declaim. Here we have our contests, here we brandish with strong—but not with bloody—right arm against the foe, the arms of scholars, for this warfare of ours is more fitting for women, as we eagerly ply not our hands but our tongues." It is a grievous pity that the rostrum and its declamations are no longer found in modern schools. How much suffering might have been spared on Sunday from the mouths of the clergy, and at public meetings and after-dinner orations, to and from

our public men, if the art of declamation and dialectic were still practised at school !

The mention of the rostrum inspired the poet to declaim on the amenity of the school. As it faces south, "in winter the sun warms us with his whole lamp, and as there is no fire-place we warm ourselves in Phoebus's rays and the breath of his mouth," while in summer the breeze blows cool from the trees in Meads. In Adams' *Wykehamica* the words *halituque calescimus oris* have been oddly construed into the horrid statement that "we grow warm with each other's breath." But neither good Latin, good manners, nor fact support this version. The room was much too high, and the windows, with their leaded lattices, must have been much too pervious to the breezes for a 'froust' to be produced.

We are not told, unfortunately, where the Head-master's Chair was, nor whether and how, the boys who were not prefects were arranged.

In the School of 1687 the Master's chair is a lofty throne with a gabled back, flanked, on a lower level, by two seats with square-cut backs. Mr. Kirby gives an extract from the Bursar's Book of 1655 of 7s. for a chair (*cathedra*, the regular mediæval word for a master's seat) for the Head-master, but this may be only for a repair. The present structure could not have been erected for 7s., even in 1655, and was probably made in 1687, when School was built. No doubt, the original Master's chair was of the same gabled shape, and as the new School exactly reproduced the old School,

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even to the absence of a fire-place, we may infer that it stood in the corresponding place, with its back to the south wall, in the corner between the west window and west wall, the furthest corner away from the door, commanding the whole scene. The Usher's seat was in a corresponding position at the opposite corner on the same side. Where did the boys, who were not prefects, sit? If the School had been founded a little earlier, or if it had been intended for real paupers, there would certainly be a presumption that they sat on the floor. But Christopher Johnson speaks, as regards Morning School, of "each being bound as tightly to his 'Scob' (*cista*) as formerly the god-like Prometheus was to the rock on the Caucasus." As the Scobs and the forms, arranged in squares, were reproduced in School, no doubt they had been copied from the old School, and we may conclude that the floor was occupied accordingly. There is a payment of 17s. for mending the forms (*formularum*) in 1535. We may also conclude that "up to books" the boys sat on rows of three benches fixed against the east and west walls. The "Scob," it may be here observed, was a square oak box with a double lid, the inner one being used as a writing-desk. Its etymology has lately been rescued from the guess, that it was box spelt backwards, by Mr. R. G. K. Wrench, in his admirable *Winchester Word Book* (D. Nutt, 1891). He has shown that it comes from the Latin *scabellum*, the regular word in use for a cleric's seat (*cf. Memorials of Southwell Minster*. Camden Society, 1891, p. 42).

The word for the box seems to have been transferred to it from the form on which it stood. It may be, therefore, that originally, before books became common, there were only the bare benches for the lower boys to sit on, but before the end of the mediæval time the chests to hold books and papers had been added.

THE ORIGINAL SCHOOL, NOW SEVENTH CHAMBER.

From drawing by Mr. Percy Wadham.

XI

OUR OPENING DAY

SUCH were the buildings which, according to *Heete's Life* (Chap. 12), were constructed "in the space of six years," while "the first entrance for the purpose of living there, of the Warden, Fellows, Scholars and all the rest aforesaid, took place at the third hour before noon, March 28, in the year of the Lord 1393, and of the reign of King Richard, the seventeenth, walking in procession, with solemn chant, preceded by the cross erect."

Here is a simple and precise statement which challenges our confidence at once. It is made by a Fellow of the College in 1420, who had himself entered as a scholar in the Founder's own life-time in 1401, some seven years after the event recorded. Yet, as will be shown in a moment, in a material particular it is wrong. But first let us see what later writers have to say on the point.

Adams in his *Wykehamica* (Parker & Co., 1878, p. 30), tells us, "The whole occupied six years in building. On the 28th of March 1393, Wykeham entered his completed college, preceded by *his* cross-bearer, and followed by his newly-appointed Warden, Masters, and Scholars, chanting hymns and prayers, and solemnly took possession of

it." Moberly (*Life of Wykeham*) says, "On that day (March 28, 1393), at 9 A.M., the Warden, Fellows, and Scholars made their solemn entrance with a view to habitation, walking in procession, preceded by a cross-bearer, and chanting. The Warden was no longer Thomas Cranley. He had resigned on May 12, 1389, and on the twenty-third of the same month Wykeham had appointed John Westcote, B.D., in his place." In Mr. Kirby's *Annals* (p. 30) we read, "The opening ceremony took place on Saturday, March 28, 1393. Early in the morning of that day Wykeham received the new Warden and seventy scholars, whose names appear in the first leaf of the Register, in his presence chamber at Wolvesey, and admitted them to the privileges of the foundation. The procession then set out, with the blessing of Wykeham upon it, and entered at 9 A.M. the future home of the Society," which "consisted of a Warden (Morys)," &c.

Here, then, are three accounts of the same event, a most important one to the historian of the College, contradicting each other in such particulars as the share taken by the Founder, and as to the person who was then the head of the Society. The statements about Wykeham are mere embroidery. Mr. Kirby says truly: "It does not appear that Wykeham took part in the opening ceremony." He then conjectures: "Very probably he was out of health at the time," and adds, "Heete's description of the procession is imaginative, for there were no Fellows as yet." His own

account of the reception of the Society by Wykeham, is equally imaginative. Moberly and Kirby cannot both be right as to who was Warden. Worst of all, Heete is self-contradictory as to the very year in which the entrance took place. Yet these combined authorities, on the strength of which the five-hundredth anniversary, called by the terrible name of "Quingentenary," was celebrated in 1893, misled the Wykehamical world into celebrating it in the wrong year.

This example is almost enough to make one despair of ever arriving at truth in history. Perhaps, however, it should rather teach the lesson that the only safety lies in going to contemporary documents themselves and abstaining from adding to them statements they do not contain. So by the successive labours of different divers we may reach Truth at the bottom of her well at last.

The true day of entrance into the College was Saturday, March 28, 1394.

Mr. Kirby pointed out, in a note (p. 31), the discrepancy, in Heete's date, between the year of our Lord and the year of the king. This discrepancy it is, which has vitiated the whole story, not only of the opening day, but of the whole of the first ten years of the existence of the College. There is an equal discrepancy in his own date of Saturday, March 28, 1393.

Richard II. reckoned his reign from June 22, 1377, the day after his grandfather, Edward III., died. It was not till the reign of Edward VI. that the king's years began to be reckoned from the same day as the prede-

cessor died. The 28th March in Richard's first year would be 1378, not 1377. His seventeenth year would begin on June 22, 1393, and the 28th of March in that year of his reign would be March 28, 1394, not 1393. March 28, 1394, was a Saturday, while March 28, 1393, on the other hand, was a Friday, an impossible day to choose for such an event as the entry on the new buildings.

The question then arises, where was Heete's mistake; in the year of the king or the year of the Lord? At first blush it might be said that the year of the king was more likely to be mistaken. That would be so nowadays. But in those days the year of the king was the more important, the more usual, and the best known date. The year of the Lord was almost, if not wholly, confined to ecclesiastical documents. In Wykeham's Register, for instance, the documents were dated by the year of the Lord. But for civil purposes, the year of the king was invariably used. All the early Account Rolls of the City of Winchester are dated by the year of the king. So were the Account Rolls of Winchester College. Ecclesiastical foundation as it was, the accounts were presumably not regarded as ecclesiastical documents. Nor was the Scholars' Register at the beginning, or for many years afterwards, dated by the year of the Lord, but by the year of the king.

The Scholars' Register is not, at first, a contemporary document, as has been commonly supposed. It is written in one hand up to 1432, and that hand, the hand of Heete, who wrote the Life. This is inferred from these

circumstances: (i.) That this hand comes to an end in October 1432, the month in which Heete died; (ii.) that the name of Heete in the register is surrounded by a special little ornamented border in blue, an ornament given to no other name; (iii.) that the same hand wrote the beginning of the Fellows' Register, in which the "Life" appears, and that it, too, goes down to the same year, 1432. The entry of the admission of Heete himself as Fellow is written in the same hand, but the entry of Heete's death is in a different hand, which then makes its appearance for the first time.

I may add that there is a sad falling off in the neatness of the entries after that date, and the little rubricated ornaments employed disappear.

The Scholars' Register lends no support to the date 1393. It is merely headed "The names of the scholars from the beginning of the foundation of this College"—a most wrong-headed heading, ignoring the Register mentioned by Wykeham himself as made in 1382. A much later (seventeenth century) hand has added the supposed year of the king and of the Lord.

But there is a contemporary document which determines the question. This is the first Account Roll of the College. It is, like all the Account Rolls up to 1560, when books were substituted for Rolls (*Annals*, p. 137), in Latin. It is headed: "College of St. Mary by Winchester. Account of Mr. John Morys, Warden of the same, from Saturday after Lady Day, in the 17th year of King Richard the Second after the Conquest, to Friday before

Michaelmas next following, in the 18th year of the King aforesaid, for 26 weeks." June 22 coming in the middle of the account, though it was only for half a year, made the second part of it fall in a later year of the king. The account was for half a year only, because it was intended to run the accounts from Michaelmas to Michaelmas. The expenses side of the account begins: "First, in commons for the first week after the entrance of the College." So that there is no doubt that this is the first Roll and not the second. Further, there is a contemporary note in the Roll: "In the 8th year from the beginning of the work." This, perhaps, shows us how Heete had made his mistake. He put the laying of the first stone on March 26, 1387, 11 Richard II., the twentieth year of Wykeham's consecration, and the sixty-eighth of his age; and then said that the necessary buildings were erected "in the space of six years;" the same period as he assigned to the building of New College. Six added to 1387 would make 1393. Morys's more correct seven years added to 1387 would make 1394. But Heete has muddled the date of the foundation stone too. March 26, 1387, was not 11 but 10 Richard II.; while Wykeham was born, according to Heete, in 1324, and so would have been in his sixty-fourth, not his sixty-eighth year, in 1387. It is clear that Heete is a blind guide in the particular of dates.

Warden Morys, the contemporary authority, on the other hand, is corroborated by independent documentary evidence.

JOHN MORYS, FIRST WARDEN IN PRESENT BUILDINGS, 1394-1413.

From rubbing of brass in Chapel, by Dr. Freshfield.

To face p. 132.

In Wykeham's Register (III. 271), under date 8th January, A.D. 1393 (*i.e.*, 1394, according to our reckoning, the year then beginning on Lady Day), is an entry of the "Resignation of Mr. J. Westcott, Warden of the College of Blessed Mary, by Winchester," made "in the hall of his rectory of St. Cride in Cornwall." On 8th Feb. 139 $\frac{3}{4}$, at Southwark, John Morys, M.A. (a Fellow of New College, and no doubt a Winchester Scholar, as he was only a B.A. in 1386, the year of the earliest Hall Book at New College), was collated by the Founder to the Wardenship, and Mr. Simon, "Provost of the Chapel of St. Elizabeth," and John Arnold (the Bishop's *apparitor* or *summoner*), were commissioned to induct him. On 9th March 139 $\frac{3}{4}$, at Merewell, John Morys, in presence of the Founder, took the oath as Warden. He went into residence a few days afterwards, apparently, before the entry of the rest, as his account contains a payment of 4s. for his own commons for two weeks before Lady Day.

So far, therefore, as the life of Winchester College is to be reckoned from its taking possession of its buildings, it must be reckoned from 28th March 1394, not 28th March 1393. But, as it was at work from the date of the deed of 1382, its true life ought to be reckoned from 20th October 1382.

When the Warden and scholars entered, the buildings were not yet completed. As we have seen, the contract for Outer Gate was not made till All Saints' Day, some six months after. Neither chapel nor hall were finished or furnished. Albs and vestments, the "table" of those

who were to do the services, appear in the Accounts for the first half-year. Table-cloths for Hall (forty ells of them at 7d.) were only bought at St. Giles' Fair in September, and napkins and iron candlesticks at the same time. Two iron candelabra for School cost 4d.

The chapel was, however, sufficiently finished to be consecrated in little more than a year, viz., on 17th July, 1395, by Simon, Bishop of Achonry, in Ireland—Irish bishops being then used by English bishops to do odd jobs as suffragans much as colonial bishops are now. The date of the consecration has been wrongly put on 13th December. The Roll for 1394–95 having been placed a year later, and yet containing the expenses of the consecration on St. Kenelm's Day, poor St. Kenelm had to be transferred to some later day than Michaelmas to fit him in. He was really rather an interesting person, being a Mercian boy-king, who was murdered by an ambitious sister's orders under circumstances which strongly suggest that his legend was the basis of, or was taken from, the "Babes in the Wood." Full details will be found in the *Acta Sanctorum* under his rightful day, 17th July.

Nor was the Society complete. There were no Fellows in residence the first half year, and no choristers, though three chaplains or hired priests, *conductitii*, not having a freehold in their office, were present *ab initio*. They still exist, though their offices are now filled by Masters in the school. At Eton they still retain the name of "Conducts," which was a term in common use for such priests, everywhere, in the days of Henry VIII. It is questionable

whether Wykeham originally intended to have any Fellows at Winchester. According to the Foundation Deed of 1382, he did not. There were statutes before 1389, as we have seen, and they are referred to in the license to acquire lands of alien priories in that year, the King (Richard II.) assigning as a reason for the grant that "a special statute and ordinance had been made" for masses for his, and his Queen's, souls. The three chaplains would have sufficed for them. Changes were, however, in contemplation when the buildings were finished; for among the expenses of the Warden in the first half-year are those incurred in going to Esher and to London, to the Founder and staying with him eight days, "for the Statutes of the College."

Winchester, like every other college and collegiate church of the later foundation, was from the first a chantry to pray for the Founder's soul. At New College this part of the business was intended to be done not by the scholars—a term then used of all the University students, whether graduate or undergraduate—but by ten chaplains. The scholars were only bound to attend chapel on "non-legible" saints' days—the great feasts, when the whole University suspended lectures to attend church. Perhaps for symmetry, perhaps to increase the flow of promotion in New College, perhaps only for more ornate worship in the chapel, and greater security for the Founder's soul, the ten chaplains were paralleled at Winchester by the addition of "ten priests, perpetual Fellows." The Priest-Fellows, who were to be elected from Fellows

or chaplains of New College, or chaplains of Winchester "or other fit persons," were little more than chantry priests. Seven masses a day, besides the seven canonical hours, they had to perform. As Sub-warden and Bursars they assisted in the management of the estates, and one of them each week was Steward of Hall.

There is some difficulty as to when they came in, a difficulty caused, in the first place, by the admissions of Fellows in the *Liber Albus*, which only begin in November 1397, being assumed to be exhaustive when they were not, and by the Bursars' Rolls having been misdated. The facts appear to be these. In the first few weeks after entry there were neither Fellows nor Chaplains; in the fifth week four priests (*sacerdotes*) appeared in Hall, next week five, which number continued in commons to the end of the Account. Three only received stipends, under the name of chaplains—Beche, Berkesaile and Asshe—at the rate of 10s. a term or £2 a year, the minimum salary of a "conduct." In 1394-5 in the second week there were eight *sacerdotes* in residence, in the fifth week nine, in the sixth week ten, and so continued, with occasional absences. Two of these priests (not one, as *Annals*, p. 143), Thomas Knight and John Self, are described as "Fellows (*socii*) sworn to the statutes of the College," and received a Fellow's pay, the latter only for three terms. J. More, called Conduct, also received a Fellow's pay, but that was because he acted as precentor and sacrist, a Fellow's office. Seven others, also Conducts, received a conduct's pay at the highest rate, viz., £2. 13s. 4d., three

of them for only two terms. The tenth is expressly said to have been hired for a year to read the Gospel.

On December 20, 1894, in Wykeham's Register (III. 278), is an entry of the "appointment and institution of a Perpetual Fellow," Robert Lemannesworth. A note adds that Bach, Self, Knight and More received letters in the same manner and form; but it does not say on the same date. Knight and Self must certainly have received theirs earlier, Bach and More later; at least they were acted on later.

In the third year's Accounts (1895-96) Mr. Thomas Turks, or Turke, as "Perpetual Fellow of the College," drew £5, with 13s. 4d. more as Sub-warden, which represents only half a year in that office, the full pay being 26s. 8d. Bach received 30s. for half a year, while More, "who is at once precentor, sacrist, and teacher (*Informer*) of the choristers," got £5.

Next year (1896-97) Mr. Thomas Turks again appears as Perpetual Fellow and Sub-Warden (pay 26s. 8d.), while John Beckington and John Bosham also appear as Perpetual Fellows, and their expenses in riding to London to be admitted Fellows by the Lord (as the Founder is usually called) in November, were 6s. 5½d. John More, oddly enough, only received a Conduct's pay and name, and 13s. 4d. extra as precentor. A curious item of 8s. 9d. for Mr. Turks riding to Oxford to New College, "to get Fellows and Chaplains of the College," would appear to show that there was some difficulty in obtaining an adequate supply. The next account is for

one term only, Michaelmas to Christmas 1397, and records three Fellows, names not given, as having commons; while Mr. John Crudeshale, admitted on 27th November, got his livery in addition to the three. The reason for the account stopping short at one term is that this was the last account kept by Warden Morys; the accounts being then taken over and kept by two Bursars, who, by Rubric viii., were to be elected annually from the Fellows, a system which only ended in 1874.

Of the two first Bursars, John Bosham and Richard Brackley, only the former was a Fellow, the latter was a Conduct, a fact which has made some eighteenth century reader, with excess of zeal, alter the name of Richard Brackley to Robert Lechlade, who was a Fellow. So the first Bursars appear in *Annals*, p. 144, not only under the wrong year, 1398-99, instead of 1397-98, but one of them with a wrong name.

The next year again, 1398-99, the Bursars consist of one Fellow (Durle), and a Conduct (Ashe); but in the course of it, after one term, both he and the Bursar of the year before (Brackley) appear as Fellows. This year the full tale of Fellows was completed, eleven appearing. But of these four only are paid for the whole year, viz., Crudeshale, More, Darle, and Browne; the rest were Asshe, Brackeley, Clark, Stafford, Hende, White. The last promoted, Adam Wynchestre, who was a Conduct, was only paid for half of a term. Turks, Beckington, and Bosham have, it will be noted, disappeared, but Bosham reappears next year, though paid only for half

a year. Turks was admitted again, as appears by the *Liber Albus*, in 1400.

The inference that there were no Fellows before 1397 is, therefore, certainly wrong. Even the inference that there were none during the first year is open to considerable doubt; as Warden Morys enters in his first Account Roll certain receipts by the "Warden and Fellows." Further, if the dates attributed to the early Hall Books of New College are correct, there were Fellows before the entrance, for in the book, said to be for 1392-3, a Fellow of Winchester is recorded to have dined with the Fellows of New College in April of that year.

The matter is not, perhaps, worth the labour bestowed on it. The net result appears to be that there were Fellows from 1394 at least, but that they only gradually came into residence as their chambers were finished or funds admitted; that many of them did not retain, and were, perhaps, not intended to retain, their Fellowships long, but that from 1399 the full tale was kept up. Well would it have been for the College if they had never been invented. While they did no great harm as long as they were regular residents and restricted to their statutory £5 a year; after the Reformation, when they married and became non-resident and divided the "fines" on leases between them, they were incubuses on the school. They devoured the "children's" bread for the benefit of their own families. They were a standing obstacle to all improvements in the provision made for

the Scholars, and presented a solid obstruction to all reforms in the School.

The opening of College was an event of national importance, and attracted a good deal of public attention. To judge from the large number who dined or supped in Hall in some of the early years, strangers must have come from all over the country to see the place. I did not, unfortunately, note the numbers in the first Bursars' Rolls and Hall Books after the opening. But in 1396-97, at Christmas, there were twenty-nine guests (*jurnelli*), or strangers for the day; not day-labourers as in the *Annals*, seeing that of them twenty-three dined with the Fellows and only six with the servants. A very distinguished visitor came in the person of the Duke of Brittany, the expenses on whom and his staff, including French bread (*pane Francisco*) for them, cost 13s. 9d. He made a handsome return, as "tips" are entered to one of his servants for driving sixteen pigs to the College on one occasion, and a boar and twenty pigs on another. John Uvedale, whose sons were Fellow-Commoners, made a present of two pipes of wine. In 1398-9 the number of guests was remarkable. In the first week of the year, October, there were thirty; fourteen to dinner, twelve to supper with the Fellows, two to supper with the servants. Throughout the quarter, strangers came in large numbers; never less than nineteen in the week. In the second term in the third and fourth weeks there were thirty-four guests each week. In the third term there were forty-four in the first week, but of these

thirty-three dined with the servants ; next week thirty-five, of whom only fourteen dined with the servants. In the eighth to tenth weeks there were thirty-six, twenty-four, thirty-four, and in the eleventh week fifty-six strangers. Of the last batch twenty-six dined with the servants. In the next few weeks, during which Richard II. was being deposed, the numbers were about twenty ; but in the fourth week there were forty-nine ; and in the last week before Michaelmas, sixty-two, of whom eighteen dined with the servants.

One might almost be inclined to think from all these comings and goings that the College was engaged in plotting for Henry of Lancaster against Richard. The view of the situation expressed in the entry in the Bursar's Roll that year, "given to J. Launce to excuse the College from sending a man-at-arms and an archer to the King on the Duke's coming into England," represents, no doubt, the attitude of Wykeham himself, who had some cause to fear attack for having served on the Commission of Regency. Certainly Henry IV. very promptly paid a visit to the College. In his first year, 1399-1400, 4s. 9d. was paid for "a gallon of red wine for the king's coming," two swans, for a present, cost 12d., and the Founder's baker received a shilling for baking for the king. Spices for the Sheriff of Hants and wife cost 12d., and wine for the same, 9d. As in the next Hall Book in which I noted the number of strangers, viz. 8-9 Henry IV., *i.e.* 1408, they were quite as numerous as in the critical year of Richard II.,—running into forty-three, forty-seven, and

fifty-nine a week—the College must be taken to have been an object of interest in 1399, not a centre of sedition. It is rather odd, by the way, in view of the prohibition against women entering College, to find in 1401–2 “a woman from Reading and her son at supper in the Warden’s chamber;” and in 1406, “two nuns to dinner and supper in the Warden’s chamber.” In 1406 there were “a woman from Wherwell and another woman” dining with the Fellows. In 1416 “two priests and two women from the Spittall”—the Sisters’ Hospital next door—dined with the Fellows one week, and “three ladies of the house of St. Mary,” *i.e.* nuns from St. Mary’s Abbey, in another. Next year (4 Henry V.) “two nuns of St. Mary’s with two gentlewomen” dined with the Fellows, and in the third term, the very washerwoman (Margaret), who was expressly to receive the dirty linen outside Outer Gate, not only dined, but, shocking to relate, supped with the servants. In 1420 a female nurse actually dwelt in College to attend on Mr. Richard Crymoke, one of the Fellows, who was ill.

The neighbouring friars from the Carmelites were frequent guests, and French knights, soldiers (sowdyers), hermits, priests, parents bringing their boys, and the like, thronged the hospitable board. Minstrels and actors are favourite guests. Scholars from Oxford came often, not seldom noted as invited by the Headmaster or Usher. In 1410, a “Master of Grammar from the parts of London,” spent two days in College with his servant, studying perhaps the methods of teaching.

XII

THE ENDOWMENTS

A FEW words must be said as to the endowments of the College. The particulars of it are set out in a manuscript in possession of the Warden, a *Benefactions Book*, compiled by Charles Blackstone, a brother of Sir William Blackstone of the *Commentaries*, a Fellow of Winchester College, in 1787 or thereabouts. It ought to have been printed long ago as a whole. Now most of it has appeared in Mr. Kirby's *Annals*.

In the first Account Roll for a full year after the opening of the present buildings, 1394-5, the income from endowments amounted to £512. 11s. 1d., and of this £205 odd was balance, called always arrears in these accounts (*arreragia*). This term being in *Annals* and elsewhere interpreted to mean arrears due from the tenants, instead of the balance in hand due from the person accounting, has led to some strange mistakes. The principal estates were Downton Rectory and Combe Bisset in Wiltshire; Winsor and Hamble, Meonstoke, and lands in Ropley, Andwell in Hants; St. Cross in the Isle of Wight; two fat rectories on the Thames, Isleworth and Hampton on Thames; and the rectories of Heston and Harmondsworth in Middlesex.

As early as 1371 Wykeham began the acquisition of the manors of Eling and Wyndsore (not Windsor on the Thames, but Winsor near the Itchen in Hampshire), purchasing first the leasehold, then the reversion. These were not, however, conveyed to the College till later.

Its first actual possession, and the richest, conveyed under a license in mortmain in 1384, enabling the College to hold lands up to £100 a year, was the rectory of Downton in Wiltshire, worth £100 a year. This land belonged to the See of Winchester, but had been appropriated to the "Bishop's table," under a Papal Bull in 1380, no doubt with the intention of its transfer to College.

In 1378-81 Wykeham acquired from John of Bleobury (Blewbury) the manor of Meonstoke Ferrand, and that of Meonstoke Perrers from Sir W. de Wyndesore (Winsor), the husband of Alice Perrers, Edward III.'s favourite mistress, from whose family no doubt it derived its surname. The same year he bought the manor of Combe Basset, Wilts, worth £20 a year. In 1387 he gave the lands in Ropley and Sutton.

Then came the great purchase of three or four Alien Priories, which has been often quoted as a precedent for the beginning of the dissolution of the monasteries. Wykeham obtained a license in mortmain for the College to the value of 200 marks a year more, and a Papal Bull. Then he bought from the Abbays of St. Valery, of the Trinity on St. Katharine's Hill, Rouen, and of Tiron in La Beauce, their English possessions.

These possessions belonging to English subject houses or cells of the French houses, were called Alien Priories because they paid either all their surplus or a fixed income to their foreign superiors. They were seized into the King's hands during the French wars on the adequate ground that their revenues went over to France and furnished supplies to the enemy. As the war bade fair to go on for long, and, indeed, earned the name of the Hundred Years' War, the foreign houses were very glad to sell their possessions to Wykeham. It was a lucrative move for them, for they got a very fair price, and they got it nett, without having to keep anybody out of the proceeds. Wykeham was not, as has been sometimes said, the originator of the process of dissolution by purchase. Nearly half a century before, Bishop Grandisson had established his College and School of Ottery St. Mary in Devon by a similar purchase of the place from the Dean and Chapter of Rouen.

In Hampshire, Wykeham acquired from the Priory of Tiron, Hamblrice, £13. 6s.; St. Cross, Isle of Wight, £5; Andwell, £10. 10s.; and Worldham Chapel, £1, or roughly, £30 a year, for approximately £381, rather more than twelve years' purchase. The cost of Harmondsworth, belonging to Trinity Priory, Rouen, was mixed up with other property acquired from it and given to New College, and is not therefore given. It brought in £22. 6s. 8d. a year. The same is, to some extent, the case with the very valuable properties acquired from St. Valery, the rectories of Heston, £16. 16s. 8d.,

Isleworth, £41, Hampton-on-Thames, £10. 6s., and Harmondsworth, £22. 6s. 8d. If it be true as stated (*Annals*, p. 23), that these only cost 750 francs, and a proportion, say half, of 1250 "francs" for "expenses," this was a much "better cheap," being less than four years' purchase. In 1392 Wykeham conveyed lands in Itchenstoke and Alresford which, according to Blackstone's figures, cost £366. 13s. 4d. If so, they were a very bad purchase, bringing in only some £4 a year.

In 1398 Wykeham completed his *dotation* with Durrington, bought from the Prioress of Amesbury for 1600 marks, which, as it brought in £27. 14s., according to the Accounts for 1398-9, was just under twenty years' purchase.

The total income in the year 1398-9 (deducting the balance from the year before) was £420. 4s. 2d., and the total expenses, £421. 11s. 5d., but this included some expenditure on building. In 1406-7 the income from endowment was £454, and expenses, £484; but again there was the building of Non-Licet gate and the wall by it.

Roughly speaking, £450 was the income from endowment as it was left by the Founder. In 1535 it amounted to £719 odd.

The increase was due to additional endowments, acquired from later donors and from purchases with surplus funds, chiefly unappropriated benefactions. The first great accession was another Alien Priory, that of Andover, Hants, which was bought in 1413, in consideration of a pension of 52 marks a year to the Prior. In 1535 it was worth £31 a year, but there must have been some arrears

or something deducted that year, as in 1548 it produced £81 a year. In 1414, Sir Thomas Wykeham and others, executors of Wykeham, gave lands in Hameldon for a distribution of £2 among the poor at the Founder's Obit in Cathedral. This was worth more than £7 in 1535, so there was a considerable surplus for the College.

Nearly all the other gifts were for Obits. The earliest was Henry Kesewyk (Keswick?) in 1419, who gave £145 and all his tenements, Above Bar, Southampton. In 1430, for an Obit on March 1, Fromond gave lands, mostly in Winchester, for his chantry and the choristers. In 1446 Robert Colpays gave lands in Otterbourne. John Rype, a Fellow, gave lands at Newbury, Aldermaston, Berks, in 1454. In 1463 Gabriel Corbett gave all his lands in Southampton, chiefly in English Street, which did not come into possession for twenty-seven years afterwards. There were no Obits for these two, which suggests that they were purchases rather than gifts.

The Swan Inn, Stockbridge, was bought in 1433. In 1438 a small collegiate church, at Barton, I.W., founded c. 1275, was bought from its Warden; Archpresbyter he was called, and "appropriated" to the College. It was worth £29 odd. It included what is now part of the site of Osborne House estate, having been bought for the Queen for that purpose. In 1470 the College bought their town-house, hitherto rented only, Trumper's Inn, Queenhithe, and next year lands at Hawkley, Hants. In 1480 to 1483 lands were purchased in several places: at Basingstoke, 122 acres; 280 acres at East Merston, Isle

of Wight; the "In-hundred" at Alton; Golley's Chantry in Colmer (how did they manage to suppress a chantry?); lands at East Tistede, and Medstede, and so on.

Before 1450, Warden Thurburn endowed his chantry richly with lands worth some £80 a year in and near Romsey—a magnificent gift. He built his chantry in his lifetime; it was rebuilt—not built (as in *Annals*, p. 218)—when the new tower was built about 1488.

In 1472 Richard Rede, Porter of Wolvesey Castle, not probably the man who actually opened the gates, gave lands in East Worldham worth £2 a year for an Obit, one of the payments at which was sixpence to each Scholars' chamber for candles. In 1479 four different people gave lands or houses in Winchester. In 1523 Robert Sherborne, Bishop of Chichester, gave £120 in cash.

Though all existing Obits were abolished by the Chantries' Act in 1548, and all except those in the Universities, Winchester and Eton, confiscated to the Crown, yet so great was the passion for them that in 1557, John Pullie, keeper of Wolvesey, gave £15 for an Obit for twenty years. Next year it was, we may be sure, quietly suppressed, but the College had got the money.

In 1559, Richard Read, Chancellor of Ireland, by will gave two chains of gold—his official chains probably—worth £190, to buy annuities, £5 for New College, £3 for Winchester College for the improvement of the Commons "as a poor token of my remembrance that my first education was in that College, when their Commons were right slender and small." In 1564 the

College bought some 250 acres in Andover, and a chantry there. In 1580, a Fellow named E. Hodson gave an annuity for any four persons of the name of Hodson and in default for ten poor scholars.

In the reign of Henry VIII. a great blow was inflicted, though not designedly, on the College interests, by an exchange with the Crown. It was carried out by Letters Patent (35 H. viii. pt. viii.). Henry took all the Thames-side possessions of the College lands—of untold value now—and gave the College scraps from dissolved monasteries in Hants and Wilts, viz., the Cathedral Priory, Milton Abbas, Southwick Priory, Hyde Abbey, together with the houses of the four Orders of Friars at Winchester. Dogger's Close, the latest addition to Meads, passed under this grant. It was a perfectly fair exchange at the time; but except the Friaries, what the College got is still agricultural land, and, approximately, at prairie value, while that which it gave up has gained an enormous slice of the "unearned increment."

Since 1580 the benefactions, which have not been numerous, have been mostly sums of money at large; with some for the benefit of choristers and for scholarship funds, which will be mentioned later. The most noticeable gifts were those by William Harris in 1701, of £200 to buy veal, a "white meat," for the Scholars in Lent; and of John Taylor in 1777 of £1400 Old South Sea Annuities, and £3205 Consols to the Scholars "to assist their yearly expenses in bedmakers, faggots, and the like."

XIII

THE MASTER TEACHERS

IN the Statutes, at first sight, the Master occupies but a secondary position. He was not on the Foundation, and like the Chaplains, was a hired servant and dismissible (*conductitius et remotivus*). He might be dismissed at a quarter's notice, and was required to give half-a-year's notice. The Rubric (xii.) which deals with him is headed: "Of the Master Instructor (*Instructore*) and Usher (*Hos-tiario*) under him." In the body of the Statutes he is called Master Teacher (*Magister Informator*), which seems to have been the usual title for a Head schoolmaster at that date. In the early accounts and Hall Books he is called by all manner of titles: "Magister Informator," "Magister Sclarium," "Magister Scolis," "Magister Informator Scolæ," and "Magister Scolæ;" the latter, as the shortest, finally prevailing for common use. The full official title was "Magister Informator Sclarium." His qualifications were simply that he should be "sufficiently learned in grammar, having experience of teaching," of good report and behaviour. No restriction of birth or place of origin, or education, was imposed. His duties were to diligently instruct and teach (*informare*) the Scholars of the College

in grammar, and to attentively supervise their life and morals. The lazy or negligent in learning or otherwise offending, he was, without exception of persons, to scold, or duly punish and chastise, "with this caution always that he in no way exceed moderation in his chastisements." This was a most necessary caution in mediæval times, when Spartan views prevailed of the medicinal value of mere flogging, and the more of it the better. The mediæval master's motto seems to have been *Tot verba, tot verbera*. This express direction always to use moderation was rather exceptional, and is highly favourable to Wykeham's character and good sense. The absence of any formal investiture by "rod and birch," such as took place, for instance, at Hereford Cathedral Grammar School in 1385, points in the same direction.

The true position of the Master in the community was much higher than his collegiate status. He was, in fact, the next person to the Warden, and in matters of teaching supreme. His allowance for commons was a shilling a week, his livery, eight yards of cloth, was the same as that of the Sub-warden and Fellows, while the Chaplains had only six yards, the Usher five yards. In Hall he sat at the High Table with the Warden and Sub-warden, and ranked above the three or four Senior Fellows who were allowed to share it. Last, but not least, his salary, £10 a year, though only half that of the Warden (£20), was double that of a Fellow (£5). He had, moreover, other profits. He was, indeed, absolutely forbidden "to exact, ask, or claim anything from

any of the Scholars aforesaid, their parents, or friends, for his labour spent, or to be spent, on or about the said Scholars, in, or because, of their instruction before-mentioned." But no such embargo was imposed as to the ten Commoners, from whom no doubt from the first he took toll; while, as we shall see, there were other boys attending the School who of course had to pay fees. The School was a Free School only to the Scholars. The charge for others did not perhaps exceed the 8d. a term authorised by the Statutes of Oxford University in the fourteenth century, and the Statutes of Ipswich Corporation in 1482. But 2s. 8d. a year, multiplied by eighty, would make the very comfortable little sum of £10. 13s. 4d. There would be in addition entrance fees (probably 4d.), and little presents at Christmas and Shrove Tuesday.

The Usher (*Hostiarius*) was a much less exalted personage. His name, no doubt, is derived, not from his really keeping the door, but from the ecclesiastical personage of that name, who in primitive times did keep the door, and was later identified with the parish clerk, who often performed the function of an elementary teacher.

The Statutes provided that "in the College under the Master Teacher, is to be another instructor likewise hired and removable, to be appointed by the Warden and Fellows, sufficiently learned in grammar," but previous experience in teaching was not required of him. He was "diligently to assist the Master in the premises, and

supply his place in his absence." His commons were the same as those of the Fellows and Chaplains, 12d., his livery was only five yards of cloth; in Hall he sat with the Chaplains, ranking next below them. His stipend, however, was five marks (£3. 6s. 8d.), or one mark more than the Chaplains (£2. 13s. 4d.). He was evidently considered merely the Master's assistant, as in the second Account Roll his salary is entered thus: "For the stipend of Mr. Thomas of Romsey, Master Teacher of the Scholars, and of John Huet, his Usher of the School, yearly £13. 6s. 8d.; of which for the Usher 66s. 8d."

A Master and Usher for seventy boys, supposing them to divide equally, gave thirty-five for each; a number that was regarded as none too big for a class even thirty years ago.

There were, however, other assistants. In the Hall Book for 1396-97 appears a "Goring, co-adjutor," and in the accounts for that year and the next his commons were paid for by the College until the fourth term of the year. This was clearly not an expense legally chargeable to the College, and he does not appear again. But we get occasionally such entries as this, two or three times repeated in the twelfth week of the fourth term of 1416, "A priest of the Schoolmaster's to dinner with the Fellows." This points to a tame priest kept by the Head-master to assist him with his duties, probably in much the same position as the Commoner Tutor of later days.

The first Head-master of Wykeham's scholars was, as we have seen, Mr. Richard Herton in 1373. The next we know of was Mr. John of Melton, mentioned in the letter already discussed, as to the election of scholars to New College of 8th April 1388. He had already then been Master some little time, as the two Wardens and John Keton, Fellow of New College, though whether acting as Poser or as the Bishop's official does not plainly appear, were directed to see that he duly observe the injunctions given "in obedience to the oath which he made to us." The first-known Usher is also named in that letter, "John Seward his (Melton's) vice-gerent."

It has been said, and repeated in the *Annals*, that this first Schoolmaster departed because he had been tried at the Assizes for theft in 1393, "and did not take his trial, but got off, as churchmen might in those days, by declaring on oath that he was not guilty, and bringing *compurgators* to swear that they believed his story." It is not a conclusive objection to this story that Melton was still Schoolmaster, as appears in the second Account Roll, in the first week after Michaelmas 1394; for, as we have already seen, the years 1393 and 1394 have been confounded. But it is a conclusive objection that the John Melton, clerk, who was accused of stealing thirteen pieces of cloth, value £7, at Hursley, the property of one Catayne, was accused before the County Justices on Tuesday after the Feast of St. John *ante portam Latinam*, viz., May 6, 20 Richard II. (i.e. 1397), or some three

years after John Melton ceased to be Head-master. The Melton so tried was also convicted at the Assizes, for it was only after conviction that a clerk could "plead his clergy," when a standing commissioner of the Bishop, especially appointed for the purpose of obtaining the surrender of "criminous clerks," took custody of him, and he was committed to the Bishop's prison. This John Melton was still in prison in August 1400, when Wykeham issued a commission (Reg. II. 222), which is the foundation of the whole story, to the Official of the Archdeacon of Winchester, directing him to give public notice for Melton's accusers to come forward, and, if none came, to put him to his "purgation." That is, he was allowed to swear to his own innocence, attested by the oaths of *compurgators* or witnesses, who stated that they believed him to be not guilty. Next year, June 11, 1401, Wykeham, saying that he had been too busy to carry the business any further, sent the certificates of the Archdeacon's Official to a strong commission, consisting of the Prior of St. Swithun's, the Abbot of Hyde Abbey, the Bishop's Official, the Provost of St. Elizabeth's College, and two Bachelors of Civil Law, asking them to bring the matter to a conclusion. What the conclusion was does not appear.

The name of J. Melton or Milton was not an uncommon one, and there is no special reason for identifying J. Melton the Schoolmaster and J. Melton the convicted and imprisoned clerk. Even if they were one and the same person, the theft was not the cause of Mr. John

Melton ceasing to be Head-master. The true cause of his resignation of the Head-mastership was probably his collation to the Wardenship of Magdalen Hospital, Winchester, by Wykeham, on May 10, 1394 (*Vetusta Monumenta*, III. 3). This Mastership, after his experience of the masters of St. Cross Hospital, Wykeham assuredly would not have bestowed on a thief, either convict or suspect. If Melton had, as is 'probable, succeeded Mr. Richard Herton when his ten years expired in 1383, he would in turn have held for ten years.

The next Master was Mr. Thomas of Romsey, whose previous career I have not succeeded in tracing. He does not seem to have been a Fellow of any of the colleges of Oxford then existing—at least he is not in any of the published lists. His name would imply that he was a Hampshire man.

It almost looks as if Romsey, like Herton and Melton, was appointed, or expected to remain, only for a term of ten years, as he was succeeded at Easter, 1407, by John Pole; Thomas Salmon, the usher, remaining in office (Acc. Roll, 7-8, H. IV.). The entry shows that John Huet, who is mentioned as usher in the Account Roll of 1394-95, had retired before 29th September 1406, and was not still usher in 1418 (as supposed in *Annals*, p. 160), when a scholar of Oxford came to be examined for the post of usher, and received 3s. 4d. for his expenses, including horse-hire. Whether the outgoing usher then was Salmon, I am not

able to say. The post was not one in which a man of any ability or ambition was likely, or intended, to remain many years.

Pole was the first Wykehamist who became Headmaster. He had been bred at the school, as his name occurs as a scholar of New College, in the Hall Book for 1392-93, second on a list of four.



CHAPEL AND MUNIMENT TOWER.

From drawing by Mr. Percy Wadham.

XIV

FOURTEENTH CENTURY SCHOOL-LIFE

THE first Scholars have been represented as having been admitted in 1393 (it should be 1394), because the Scholars' Register purports to give the list "from the beginning of the foundation of this College." The very first name shows that this does not mean that they were admitted on the opening day, as was supposed; for to it there are added the words "admitted before the first entry into this College," and so for the rest. Some of them, including a Wykeham, immediately went off to New College. As the College had been going on since 1382, it is of course clear that neither were these the first scholars, nor had they been admitted all in a lump in 1394, but had been admitted at various times before that.

The national, as distinguished from local, complexion of the school is marked even in this first list. Out of seventy, Hampshire, including the Isle of Wight, furnished the largest contingent—twenty-five, of whom eight came from Winchester itself. Seven more came from the diocese of Winchester, which would then include Surrey, or specifically, from places in that county. Wilt-

shire furnished seven, London or Middlesex five, Oxford or Oxfordshire four, Berkshire three, while two each came from Essex, Kent, Lincolnshire, and Northamptonshire, one each from the town of Bedford, from Ely diocese, Exeter diocese, Gloucestershire, Shropshire, and Sussex. The next Election Roll, 1394, containing no less than twenty-three names, included one from Bedfordshire, two from Berkshire, one from Buckinghamshire, one from Dorset, two from Gloucestershire, one from Somerset. The rest were from the diocese of Winchester. In 1397 we find the well-known name of Hornby from Lancashire; next year a Wildbore from Cheshire, and two of the ffarringtons from Lancashire. There is generally a sprinkling from the Northern parts, though, as might be expected in days when North and South rent Oxford University into two hostile camps, and roads were only kept up by charitable endowments or by landowners, there were but few.

The age to which the scholars were to stay, eighteen, is somewhat surprising, in view of the common notion that degrees were taken at Oxford at a very much earlier age than they are now. It is probable that the ordinary idea is founded on one or two striking but exceptional instances: such as Wolsey, the Boy-Bachelor at fourteen, and so on. Dr. Furnivall, in the *Babees Book* (p. xxxix.), quotes from "Hymns to the Virgin and Christ," about 1430—

Quod Resoun, in age of twenty yeer,
Go to Oxenford, or lernè law.

One of the Pastons at Eton, in 1478, was about nineteen years old. "Twenty," says Mr. Rashleigh (*Universities of Europe*, ii. 604), "was the minimum age for the Mastership, and the full course in Arts lasted seven years. Thirteen might, therefore, be considered the normal minimum age of admission." But the normal age and the minimum age are two very different things. The aristocratic boys, who were given deaneries and bishoprics at the age of fourteen, would go to the University with a private tutor and treat it as a Grammar School; and the boys in the Grammar Schools at Oxford itself would, no doubt, proceed early to the Arts course. But the ages already quoted for the Burghersh Exhibitioners at Lincoln, "up to sixteen years of age;" the term of eight years "in philosophy" laid down in the Statutes of Queen's College for the poor Grammar boys, and the direction that they were to take an oath to the Statutes, if fourteen years old, on admission, otherwise as soon as they had reached that age, surely point to a much more advanced age than thirteen for the normal age of beginning a University career. If Wykeham had been making such an extraordinary innovation as to raise the age for going to Oxford by five whole years, he could not have passed it over with the almost casual mention made of the age of eighteen in the Statutes. Eton, as the mention of Paston shows, followed Winchester. Besides, as the origin of the Universities was the collection of grown clerics, many of them beneficed, to hear lectures on law or theology, which remained during the whole mediæval

period the main object of Universities, and attendance for this purpose was a recognised reason for license of non-residence on a rectory or vicarage, it is incredible that the normal age for admission was thirteen.

Grammar was the preparation for theology, and Wykeham's boys were not supposed to be perfect in grammar till eighteen.

As to how they were to become perfect in grammar we are left absolutely in the dark. The standard at entrance is clear enough—"reading, plain-song, and *Old Donatus*." *Old Donatus* was Ælius Donatus of Rome in the fourth century A.D, said to have been a tutor of Jerome. He wrote two grammars. The one referred to was the *Ars Minor*, a catechism on the Eight Parts of Speech. It was so famous in the Middle Ages that the Anglicised name, Donat, became equivalent to the first text-book or rudiments of any art, and Piers Ploughman is made to say—

Then drave I me among drapers my Donat to learn.

What the boys learnt after leaving their Donat we can only infer from accidental allusions.

A list of books given by the Founder and others before 1426, shown in the Fellows' Register, does not throw much light on the subject. The bulk of them were intended for the Fellows, and consisted chiefly of theological, philosophical, and legal (canon and civil law) works of the same kind as those at New College, the list of which was printed by me in the Oxford Historical

Society's volume of *Collectanea* for 1897. The Winchester list contains two sections which do not appear in the Oxford list, one of Chronicles and the other of Grammar Books. The latter includes the *Priscianus* "in majori" and the *Priscianus* "in minori," Priscian's book being the standard grammar for a thousand years. He was a schoolmaster at Constantinople about the year 500. There were no less than three copies of the *Doctrinale* of Alexander De Villa Dei, a thirteenth century grammar in verse, beginning—

Scribere clericulis paro doctrinale novellis.

A copy of each of these is said in the list to be "in the hands of the schoolmaster," so that they were no doubt in everyday use. There were two *Catholicons*, or dictionaries, the Founder's gift, books of enormous value costing £4 and £5 respectively, equivalent to at least £80 and £100 a piece. Then there was a book in verse, bound up with a treatise of Mr. John Garland, an English thirteenth century compiler of a Gradual (Hymnal), with notes (*i.e.* music), and a Virgil, the only classical author mentioned in the list. This book was quite cheap, only 1s. 8d. = £1. 13s. 4d. There was also, among other books, oddly enough, considering that even in my time we had to use a Greek grammar written in Latin, a grammar in English, "on the teaching of boys," beginning on the second page "ablatyf case." There was a treatise on *Sophistry*, which was used, no doubt, for the disputations. Among these books a *Græcismus* seemed

to promise an early anticipation of a Greek-loving Grocyn, but it is only a twelfth century metrical explanation in Latin of Greek terms used in grammar and sophistry.

It is sometimes said that the schools of the Middle Ages taught the boys nothing but to stumble through a hymnal or psalter. The statement is absurd when applied to any grammar school, doubly absurd when applied to Winchester. The mere keeping of accounts and minutes in Latin such as was necessary to Bursars, Chapter Clerks, Town Clerks, and the like, required an extensive and peculiar vocabulary, which would put to shame a good many classical scholars of to-day. The Town Clerk of Winchester, who at the end of the City Customary early in the fifteenth century wrote,

Explicit hic totum ; pro Christo da mihi potum—

which might be translated in Chaucerian language, used still at Winchester in my time—

Here endeth my swink,
For Christ's sake a drink—

must have had a pen well trained in knocking off Latin verses.

A more solemn and better testimony to the classical learning imparted in schools may be found in a curious fulmination by Bishop Grandisson of Exeter, a fourteenth century martinet and puritan, addressed to the Archdeacons of his diocese in 1357 (*Grandisson's Register*, ii. 1192).

We daily see among the masters or teachers in our diocese of boys and illiterates, instructing them in grammar, a preposterous and useless, yes, and a superstitious method of teaching, more like that of heathens than Christians; that as soon as their pupils have learnt even imperfectly the Lord's Prayer with the Angel's Salutation, the Creed, Mattins, the Hours of the Blessed Virgin, and the like, which are connected with the faith and the soul's salvation, they make them pass on prematurely to other school-books (*magistrales*), and learn the poets and verse writers.

He tells the Archdeacons to see that the boys are not only taught the Creed, &c., by heart, but also to construe them, decline the tenses and parse the words before passing on to other books; otherwise, he threatens, he will not "mark with the clerical character," that is, admit to the first tonsure, any of these boys.

We have, however, more detailed evidence than this. In the fourteenth century (the exact date, unfortunately, is not given), the University of Oxford codified its statutes relating to teachers (*informatores*) of the faculty of grammar (*Munimenta Academica*, II., 436, *seq.*, ed. J. Anstey, Rolls Series). The master in grammar, to obtain a licence from the Chancellor to teach, was to be first examined "in the method of making verses and exercises (*dictandi*) and in books (*auctoribus*)." No master or other teacher was to teach any other books save those principally treating of the rules and nature of grammar, or the *moralia*, or metaphors of decent poets. Ovid's *Art of Love* and Pamphilus (a mediæval writer of a clever but improper poem, *De Amore*) were expressly forbidden;

with all other books calculated to deprave morals. The masters were to give the scholars a copy of verses every fortnight; and "letters composed in fitting, not swelling six-foot words, with short sentences, apt metaphors, clear and, as far as possible, full of sense." The scholars were to write these on parchment the next lesson day, and the following day to say them by heart to the Master, and hand in their copy. In construing, the scholars were to observe the rule in Latin or French (*Romanis*, Romance). A later statute says they were to be taught in construing the meaning of the words by turns in English and French "lest the French (*Gallica*) tongue be wholly lost."

It is probable that at Winchester the boys from the first learnt to construe not in French but in English. In the statutes of Oriel and Queen's College only Latin or French was to be talked in Hall; but in those of New College and Winchester only Latin was to be talked, French not being mentioned. The great French wars of Edward III. had intervened, and, as a consequence, French, which had been the everyday language of the upper classes and of towns' folk, gave place to English. Higden's *Polychronicon*, written in 1327, a copy of which formed one of Wykeham's gifts to the College, commented on the corruption of the English language, which

comes to-day chiefly from two things, viz., that boys in school, contrary to the custom of all other nations, since the first coming of the Normans, abandoning their own tongue are

compelled to construe in French; and also that noblemen's sons from their very cradles are taught the French idiom; and countrymen, wishing to be like them, that so they may appear more respectable, endeavour to Frenchify themselves with all their might.

The English translator, John Trevisa (a Fellow of Exeter, and afterwards of Queen's College, Oxford), here interpolates a most interesting passage:—

“This manner,” he says, “was much i-used to-for firste deth and is sith sumdel i-changed.” “For”—to modernise the language—“John Cornwaille, a master of Grammar, changed the lore in Grammar School, and construction of French into English; and Richard Pencriche (Penkridge?) learned the manner of him, and others even of Pencriche, so that now (A.D. 1385, and of the second King Richard after the Conquest, the ninth) in all the Grammar Schools of England children leave French, and construeth and learneth in English, and have thereby advantage on one side and disadvantage on another side. Their advantage is that they learneth their grammar in less time than children were ‘i-wont’ to do. Disadvantage is that now children of Grammar School conneth no more French than their left heel, and that is harm for them, an they shall pass the sea and travel in strange lands.”

There was a family of Cornwalls in Winchester, one of whom was in College in 1398, another held the High School garden in 1700, and his son in College in 1748 became Speaker of the House of Commons. It would be nice to think that this exceedingly sensible reform of construing Latin into English instead of French came

from Winchester, though the Tories of Oxford University tried to stop it. However that may be, Wykeham, at all events, though he had been himself brought up to write letters in French, as his letters testify, was the first statute-maker to drop the requirement of talking it.

The books construed were no doubt the same as had been used throughout the Middle Ages. First came Virgil, to know whom was equivalent to being a good grammarian, his pre-eminence being partly due to his being the *corpus vile* from which Priscian took the illustrations for his grammar. Next came Ovid, who is freely quoted throughout the Middle Ages. Then probably came the Christian authors, who were studied by Alcuin 550 years earlier, and are recommended by Colet 120 years later—Sedulius, with his *Paschal Hymn*, and Juvenecus with his *Gospels in Verse*; Prudentius on *Vice and Virtue*, Boethius' (so-called) *De Informatione Scholarium* was in the library, and Boethius' *De Consolatione Philosophiae*, translated by Chaucer, would be among the most favourite authors. The *Moralia Catonis* (so-called) and Cicero were the staple prose books, the latter's *De Oratore* being the great text-book, a knowledge of which qualified in "Rhetoric." In the statutes of Queen's College the boys were to go on to dialectic and philosophy after a solid foundation in grammar. Neither of these are mentioned in the Winchester Statutes. Yet it cannot be doubted that those subjects, which completed the *trivium* of the Grammar School, were studied. "Dialectic" meant the art of disputation, and "Rhetoric" the art of declama-

tion; grammar questions being made the subject of discussion for "dialectic." The long passage in Christopher Johnson on the *rostrum* in school shows the importance attached to it. It prevailed at Westminster in the election of Queen's Scholars down to 1864, and, as practised there in later days, was certainly a deplorable waste of the powers of memory and mental quickness on the most fruitless of *minutiae*. But in moderation, and extended, as it clearly was from Johnson's description, to subjects of more interest, it was an excellent training. Now that it has wholly disappeared from school *curricula*, while its last expiring effort flickers in the *vivâ voce* of the Oxford Schools, a substitute has had to be found out of school in Debating, Shakespeare-Reading and Essay Societies. But they give no regular training, and are least used by those who most need them. Yet there are few professions in which a little training in dialectic and rhetoric in school would not be a great help.

Of the inner life of the college, especially of the boys, we know very little. We know hardly anything of the furniture of their rooms, of their dress, of their meals, how they spent their time out of school, what their games or amusements were. It is probable, indeed, that Johnson's description in 1550, which certainly applied in even its minutest particulars to the school down to 1837, was equally applicable to 1897. But we do not know for certain, and an attempt to reproduce a "Day of my Life at Winchester in the fourteenth century" would be wholly guess-work, and perhaps entirely mis-

leading. The only documents available for the history of the inner life of the college are the Account Rolls and Hall Books. The former only record what causes expenditure; the latter only record the names of those who partook of food at dinner or supper in Hall. If only Wykeham had directed that the boys should be clothed, and their chambers found at the expense of the College; if only the stewards had, as they have done in some places, *e.g.*, St. Anthony's Hospital, London, told us what was provided in Hall as well as the cost, and for whom it was provided, we should know a great deal more, not only about life at Winchester College, but also about mediæval schools and life generally than we ever can now.

As regards sleeping accommodation, a ray of light may be shed, which will remove one misconception as to its supposed barbarism or poverty. It is alleged that the boys slept on straw, and had no beds or sheets, and the allegation is sought to be supported by the fact that clean straw "is still Wykehamical for clean sheets." It is not, however, true. Mr. Kirby says that sixty-four beds were bought in the first year at a cost of a shilling each; "they seem to have been mere trays to hold the straw in which the scholars lay." Why so? A shilling represents at least £1, for which you can get a very good iron bedstead now. In 1397-9 we are given the "Expenses of Founder's Kin," which, in accordance with the statutes, were paid by the College, for two sons of T. Warrener, and they include 12 ells

of linen for sheets, shirts, and breeches, which, with the making, cost 7s. 11½d.; 5 ells of canvas for their bed, 23s. 0½d.; 4½ yards of *blanket* for the bed, 4s. 6d.; a coverlet and pillow, 8s., and straw for their beds, 2d. Therefore, the straw must have been merely the material sewn into the canvas to make a mattress. For the rest they had sheets, blankets, and a pillow, exactly like the modern boy. But Founder's Kin were not treated differently to any other scholar, except that, while other scholars had to pay for their bedding and other chamber furniture, Founder's Kin had theirs provided by College. The boys were not to sleep three in a bed, as they did at the Wells Choristers School in 1460, nor even two in a bed, as at Westminster in 1560, after they were fourteen.

For the scholars' dress, we know that in chapel they and the masters wore surplices, as is seen in Chandler's drawing. At other times, the Rubric on Liveries tells us, the Masters had long cloth gowns, with 3s. 4d. worth of fur on it. The gowns of the scholars and the chapel clerks were to be a livery in one suit of cloth, those of the choristers in another. The colour of the scholars' cloth was to be determined on the principle of the game of "Old Soldier," in which "you may not say Black, white, or grey;" russet or brown being also forbidden. White was presumably forbidden because of the neighbouring Carmelites or White Friars; black, because of the Black Monks of St. Swithun's and Hyde Abbey, and the Black Friars; brown and grey, because of the Austin and Franciscan Friars. On the other hand their clothes

JOHN BERRY, COLLECTOR OF THE NEW TOWN OF WINDSOR, 1434.

From brass in Headbourne Worthy Church.

To face p. 17

were not to be striped, or spotted, or parti-coloured, because no doubt that savoured of the fashionable laity. What then was left? The Fellows at Queen's were to dine in scarlet gowns (*pallis purpureis*), the chaplains in white, and the grammar boys, as they were also choristers, probably followed suit (*Stat.* p. 14). The inmates of St. Elizabeth's College dressed in blue, as appears in one of their Account Rolls.

What colour the Scholars of Winchester actually dressed in we do not know. But we do know that they did not dress in the "customary suits of solemn black" which they are now made to wear, which are wholly unhistorical, and probably Puritanical.

The shape of the clothes was not dictated, except that the gowns were to be long. The shape was not the same as now, as we know for certain from the brass of John Kent, a scholar who came in 1431 and died in 1434, and was buried in the charming little church of Headbourne Worthy, about a mile and a half up the Itchen valley from Winchester. His brass there, now hanging on the North Wall of the chancel, is in excellent preservation. The inscription (in Latin) runs: "Here lies John Kent, formerly scholar of the New College of Winchester, and son of Simon Kent, Rading (Reading), to whose soul may God be propitious." Out of his mouth issues a scroll with the words "I will sing the mercies of the Lord for ever." His gown appears to be simply the ordinary gown of the time, reaching to the ankles (*talaris*), and with sleeves full to the wrist, not puffed to the elbow and there cut off as

now. His collar is a high, tight collar, like that which was the height of the fashion for ladies a year or two ago, as derived from the Princess of Wales. There is nothing on his head, on which, by the way, the tonsure does not show. Scholars were forbidden by the Statutes to wear anything on their heads, a prohibition which still in my time extended to all Inferiors, whether College men or Commoners, anywhere within the precincts, but is now limited only to College Juniors in Chamber Court. The founder of Queen's gave a sort of reason, saying that his poor boys were to have "bare heads, at proper times, while they got their living from alms," but the remark is made in a sentence dealing with their dress in chapel, and may not have applied out of doors. Christ's Hospital boys may still be seen about London or the country with the bare heads of charity boys, though when they remove to Horsham it is to be hoped that they will be allowed to dress like their "even christians."

The Fellows and others who were buried in College Chapel, and whose brasses are still known to us, unfortunately always chose to be buried in their vestments as priests, and generally their mass vestments, instead of remembering posterity and showing us themselves "in their habits as they lived." We are threatened with a repetition of the same kind of folly, which is ashamed of the ordinary everyday garb, in the statues of Gladstone. Yet how infinitely superior is the statue of Palmerston in Palace Yard, in the simple coat and trousers of a gentle-

JOHN BEDELL, MAYOR OF WINCHESTER, 1498; SCHOLAR, 1440.

From rubbing of brass in Chapel, by Dr. Freshfield.

To face p. 173.

man of the nineteenth century to that of Disraeli, in the absurd made-up trappings, never worn by any one naturally anywhere, of the Order of the Garter. One of the brasses to John Bedell, "a Mayor of Winchester, formerly scholar, who died on 30th July 1498," is interesting as showing us at least what the official garb of a Mayor was in those days, when the Mayor wore his gown as an ordinary dress, and not merely as a thing put on over his other clothes, only for official functions. Its wide ermine sleeves are very fine.

The Scholar was only allowed to wear his livery in his first year on Sundays and holidays, or at processions or solemn assemblies (*convocationibus*), and had to keep it for three years, not being allowed to sell, pledge, give, or dispose of it outside the College during that time. A similar restriction applied to the Warden, Fellows, Chaplains and Masters, for no less than five years, but they might within that time give it to a poor Scholar (so all Scholars were not 'poor'), or a chorister, "by way of charity." Wykeham did not want the impecunious citizen to disport himself in the moulted plumage of the Scholars and Fellows, as if he was a member or ex-member of the College, as nowadays one may see young ladies going about Winchester with Old Wykehamist ribbons on their hats, or bakers' boys adorning themselves as "Lords' men" or Chalkerites.

The allowance for a Scholar's commons was 8d. a week (Rubric xiii.). There were only two regular meals a day, dinner and supper; but boys under sixteen were

allowed breakfast as well. Eggesfield at Queen's, it may be noted, had allowed his poor boys breakfast out of the broken victuals and commons of the Fellows. In the fourteenth century dinner was at ten, and nothing was taken before it. This was the rule even in 1526 in the King's Household (Furnivall, *Babees Book*, lxxx.). "The first dinner in eating days to begin at ten of the clock or somewhat afore, and the first supper at four of the clocke on week-days." When the King's Hall was not "kept," dinner was at eleven A.M., and supper at six P.M.

As regards the boys' inner life, we know that they were divided then as now into the two great classes of "Prefects" and "Inferiors." Wykeham is commonly credited with the invention of the prefectural system not only *per se* but in all its ramifications, including the great and glorious institution of "tunding," which some writers seem to regard as the special glory of Winchester and the Public School system. Wykeham certainly did provide for Prefects. "In each of the lower (*i.e.* scholars') chambers let there be at least three scholars of good repute (*honesti*) more advanced than the rest in age, sense, and learning to superintend the studies of their chamber-fellows, and diligently oversee them, and when called upon, truly to certify and inform the Warden, Sub-Warden, and Master Teacher of their morals, behaviour, and advancement in learning from time to time as often as may be necessary; or bound by their oath, so that such scholars who are under any defect in morals, are negligent or

lazy in their studies may receive due and sufficient chastisement (*i.e.*, as always, corporal punishment), correction and punishment according to their faults." This provision was not, as Mr. Adams, in *Wykehamica* (p. 56), says "of Wykeham's devising." It seems to have escaped notice that it appears in the Statutes of New College (R. lii.), in the very same words, except that one Fellow only is assigned for the purpose in each chamber. The proportion of Prefects is as nearly as possible the same, there being at New College only four "Scholars or Fellows" in each chamber, save one which had only three. It was imported into the Statutes of New College from the Statutes of Merton of 1274 (Cap. 7). By this "some of the more discreet scholars were to be elected who, under the Warden, as his coadjutors, were to have the care of the less advanced, as to their advancement in study and uprightness of morals; so that to each twenty or ten of them there should be a president. There should be, moreover, in each chamber in which the said scholars live, one more advanced in age than the rest to superintend the other fellows, through whom knowledge may be given to the Warden of the House and the others preferred" (*prepositorum*, whence 'Prepositors') "to this charge, and the body of the scholars themselves, of their morals and advancement in study." The last clause in the same words is found in the Statutes of Oriel in 1329.

We can hardly credit Wykeham, therefore, with the invention of a prefectorial system. He was only repeating

for the scholars of Winchester a provision made for scholars at Oxford.

It is clear that he did not contemplate, as Mr. Adams says, that the Prefects should be not merely magistrates, but "administrators of the law." They were not magistrates at all, but policemen. Their duty was to inspect and report only. There is not a hint that they were to enforce the laws or themselves inflict punishment. As Mr. Adams has pointed out, there is no mention of the "officers" of later days. "The behaviour of the boys in chapel is made to be the business of the Warden and Sub-Warden, not apparently through the administration of Prefect of Chapel but directly. The examination and dispensing of the food is given to the Steward, not to the 'Prefect of Tub.' There is no mention of any 'Prefect of Hall' when quiet is to be maintained in the Refectory (R. xv.). There appears to have been no regular Bible Clerk, one of the senior boys being, on each occasion, chosen to read the Gospel in Hall." I should differ from Mr. Adams on this last point, because weekly "course" was universal in the Cathedral arrangements of the Middle Ages. Places like Southwell and Beverley Colleges had their *Ebdomadarius*, or Vicar choral who was "in course" for a week at a time to begin the chants and lead the services in choir. The Bible Clerkship would naturally follow the same course.

But his point generally is established though he does not proceed to draw the inference which I draw, that "officers" did not exist, or at least were not contem-

plated in the Statutes. The fact that they existed both at Winchester and Eton in 1550–60 certainly points to an early origin, but not necessarily to their being *ab origine*.

The truth is, that the collegiate life imagined and designed by Wykeham was wholly different to what it afterwards became. He pictured and provided for the Warden, Fellows, and Masters, being in continuous residence and close contact with the boys. With them in Hall, and one of them acting as “Steward in Course” (*cursorie* is the word used), there was no need for a “Prefect of Tub” to look after the food, or a “Prefect of Hall” to keep order. No fagging or bullying could go on. So, too, in chapel and school. Even in chambers, with the Masters and Fellows just above them, the boys were under incessant supervision by their elders.

To anticipate a little, I may add that to my mind it is clear that there was no “tunding” in the days of Edward VI., and that if it existed, which is more than doubtful, it was not legally recognised even so late as the days of James II. Officers, Bible Clerks, Prefects were in full force in Christopher Johnson’s poem. But they had no power of punishment.

Prefects (*præfecti*) the eighteen seniors are rightly called. By their example and warning (*monitu*, whence the monitor of some earlier and later schools) they keep the rule of the school, and if any madcaps and rowdy ones rebel, their names are put on a roll (*chartæ*), and the roll is given to the master, who sets all right with the four-forked rod.

Again, at a Scrutiny in 1668, the complaint is made

That the Inferiours are many times forc'd to make the beds of Præfects, and likewise to supply them with ink, paper, and such like implements, or else they are forc'd to run the hazard of being accus'd.

Surely the last word would have been "tunded" or punished, if the prefects inflicted punishment themselves. It can only mean that they "handed them up" to the master for some offence real or imaginary.

It is to be inferred that the prefect system developed when the Warden was mostly non-resident, or when resident did not dine in Hall; and the masters devoted themselves to looking after Commoners, leaving College to itself. When finally the Warden retired to a married life outside Chamber Court altogether, and the Head Master removed to "Commoners," the fagging and "tunding" system developed itself.

It may be added, in confirmation of the opinion that "tunding" was a late growth, that Mr. Rashdall has shown, in his *Universities* (II. 622-3), that the Statutes of Brasenose, 1509, are the first college statutes that contemplate the personal chastisement of undergraduate members. Those of Caius at Cambridge, 1558, permit birching for those under eighteen, that age being chosen as the limit "because before that age, both anciently and in my memory, youths did not wear drawers," and were therefore more easily attacked. "The sixteenth century," he says, "was the flogging age *par excellence* at the

English Universities." He imputes it to the growth of a Puritanical spirit. But it seems likely that it was due to a more general development of discipline, quite apart from religion, and the sharper line of demarcation drawn between teaching Fellows and learning Scholars. The early university had been a collection of professors of research, the later university became an enlarged grammar school.

A chapter on the games and holidays of the boys might almost resemble that on snakes in Iceland.

Of holidays, it may be said that there were plenty of holy days, but no general holidays. The collegiate example was directly followed. To the Fellows of a college, the college was their home till death them did part. The collegiate school-boy was regarded as under much the same conditions. No holidays were contemplated; and in fact for more than a century there was no breaking-up day and no general emigration home. There were, however, pretty regular and fairly general *exceats*. Such an *exceat* (a word unknown to Winchester), took place almost immediately after the entrance into College. There were sixty-nine scholars "in commons" the first week of April 1394, and seventy-one the second week; but only fifty-nine the third, and fifty the fourth, while in the fifth week there were again sixty-four. Easter day was on April 19, so the twenty lucky absentees enjoyed an Easter holiday. In the eleventh week, or the week beginning Sunday, June 7, 1394 (not 7th July 1393 as in the *Annals*), there was again a drop from sixty-five scholars to forty-seven, which represents a Whitsun-

tide vacation. In the next Account, still 1394, there was a big drop in the thirteenth week, forty-five only being in full and eight in half commons, while in the first week of the second term, the first of the New year, there were thirty-six scholars only in commons. In the second week there were thirty-eight; in the third week fifty-five. This was a Christmas vacation, but it was complicated by illness probably, as the number does not go above sixty-four at all, and is generally below sixty, and three boys are specially mentioned as being sick out of college, one of them for five weeks. Easter week is not marked by any diminution, but there is a drop from fifty-six to forty-two in the thirty-sixth week of the year, at Whitsuntide. No inference can be drawn from their being only thirty-eight in commons in the last week of the year (September), as from the forty-sixth week, when the numbers fell to thirty-six, they never again rose above forty—clearly an epidemic. In 1395-96, during which the number of Scholars was full, there was again a drop to forty-five in the fourteenth week (Christmas), and the two sons of Uvedale, Fellow-Commoners, were away that week and the week before. In the thirty-seventh week, (Easter fell early on April 2), there was again a drop to fifty-two. Next year there were only forty-one present in the fourteenth week, and the sons of Uvedale were again away. In the ninth week of the third quarter, Whitsuntide, there were only twenty-eight present. Lastly, in 1397-98, there were forty-eight scholars in

the first week of the first quarter, Christmas; twenty-five only in the eighth week of the third quarter, Whitsuntide; and forty-eight only in the following week. For these two weeks the Head Master was away; the only time, so far as I have noticed, that he was away so long for the whole four years during which I pursued this subject. It would be possible, by the aid of the Hall Books, to find out whether the same scholars went away at Christmas and at Whitsuntide. But I confess that my patience failed before that task. It seems to be clear that the school never closed as a whole in the first few years, and Mr. Kirby says not until 1518; but a considerable number went away for holidays at Christmas, Easter, or Whitsuntide, and that the latter was the most popular time for the holiday. I should add that Commoners were in much the same position as College. Only a few of them went away at Christmas or Whitsuntide.

Christmas must have been rather a good time to be at School. The Statutes provide for celebration of the function of the "Boy Bishop," and in 1400 we find the College paying 2d. for two Founder's Kin, Philip Bryan and William Aas, "to St. Nicholas' Light"; so that we may be sure the function was kept up with the usual festivities (*The Schoolboys' Feast. Fortnightly Review*, January 1896). Minstrels and players were generally hired. For instance, on Innocents' Day, 1404, 2d. was paid to the City Minstrels. In 1401, in the week of New Year's Day, two players (*histriones*) dined with the Fellows.

The "Boy Bishop" was in honour of St. Nicholas of Myra, whose story is told on the font in Winchester Cathedral, and was inaugurated with great ceremony on the eve of St. Nicholas' Day, December 5. He resumed office and performed the whole service, the Mass included, on "Childermas" or Innocents' Day. He had a real "mitre of cloth of gold of the gift of the Lord Founder, with trappings of silver-gilt, and a pastoral staff of copper-gilt." It must have been fine fun for some red-cheeked junior (a good-looking one was always chosen) to step into the Warden's place, while his following took the seats of the Head Master and the Fellows, as the organ played and the choir sang "He has put down the mighty from their seats." It must have been nice, too, to receive the pennies of the Warden and Fellows and the other boys, and no doubt larger presents from strangers and the townspeople; and, after the blessing given in true Episcopal style, to wind up with a gorgeous supper. But this was not the only festivity. The Bursars and the Sub-Warden, no doubt, had their "O's" on December 16 and following days. The two days before Innocents' Day were equally given up to high jinks, St. Stephen's Day on the part of the Deacons, represented no doubt by the chapel clerks, and St. John's Day by the Priest-Fellows. All Saints' days were whole holidays; but so much chapel—first and second vespers, matins, mass, processions and the other Canonical hours, tierce, sext, nones, and compline—was involved, that the scholars must have felt like those at King Harold's

College of the Holy Cross at Waltham, afterwards Waltham Abbey, who "went from school to church and church to school like canons" (Bishop Stubbs' *Inventio Crucis*). There were also the four Obits a year for Wykeham's soul, besides the actual anniversary of his death. Those days were, no doubt, specially grateful, as besides the improved meals of a feast, "a pittance worth 6s. 8d." was specially directed.

Wykeham's Obit was in course of time followed by a good many more, nineteen of them being recorded in the Account Roll, 1 and 2 Edward VI.; the year immediately preceding the Chantries Act, which put an end to such ceremonials. Among them may be noticed those of three out of the first four Wardens—Baker, the alleged inventor of the "Bibling Rod," being the exception—Cardinal Beaufort; T. Beckington, Bishop of Bath and Wells; J. Bedyll, the ex-scholar, Mayor of Winchester; and W. Danvers, Earl of Oxford.

Whether there were any fixed "remedies" we do not know. At the College Church of Southwell, in 1484, it was complained that "the Master of the Grammar School does not attend at due hours to the teaching of his scholars in school, and too often gives a remedy (*remedium*) to his scholars on ordinary week-days, so that they learn nothing, as it were, spending their parents' substance for no purpose, and in vain." No mention is made of any such holiday in the Statutes, and it was probably at first discretionary with the Head Master.

What the boys did when they got a holiday we do

not know. The Statutes are so closely modelled on those of New College that they are hardly appropriate to boys. Rubric xvii., corresponding with Rubric xxv. at New College, is chiefly aimed at the practice of carrying arms, shooting in College, or keeping dogs, hawks, or ferrets for sport. Though not mentioned in New College Statutes, the gentle art of fishing was forbidden at Winchester. Even then, no doubt, the Itchen trout was a sporting fish, and offered temptations to the (fly-?) fisher, while the jack and chub of Father Thames and the Cherwell were not attractive. The only reference to games is in Rubric xliii., where stone and ball throwing, with wrestling and dancing in Chapel, Hall and Cloisters, are forbidden as already noticed. Games of ball of some kind must have been played. But Meads was a kitchen-garden, and Ball Court did not exist. Outer Court possibly might have been legitimately used for the purpose, and it is quite possible that the Winchester game of football, with its long narrow ground, was evolved there.

No reference whatever is made in the Statutes to the ancient Wykehamical institution of "Hills," or the march two and two of the boys to St. Katharine's Hill about a mile south-east from College, where the line of the downs breaks into a rounded peninsular hill immediately above the water-meadows of the Itchen. It is impossible not to suppose that this march was originally a procession of a religious character. St. Katharine of Egypt, a sort of Early Christian Lady Jane Grey, was one of the Patron

Saints of learning and schoolboys. She was broken on the wheel on the top of a hill, so many hill chapels were dedicated to her, such as those, fragments of the ruins of which still remain on St. Katharine's Hill near Guildford, and St. Katharine's Down in the Isle of Wight. A part of the endowment of the College was derived from a monastery on St. Katharine's Hill at Rouen.

The only evidence, however, of any sort of resort to the chapel on St. Katharine's Hill, Winchester, that I have seen is in an early chartulary of the Cathedral Priory (Brit. Mus. 29,436) in a deed confirmed by the Bishop's official, Mr. John Lecche, at a visitation on July 31, 1331. This sets out, among the possessions of the Priory (as against the Bishop): "All oblations coming in the chapell of St. Katerine, by Winchester, on her feast as well by day as by night, and the station (*stationem*) at that time in it, and the administration and keeping of the keys of the same from vespers on the Vigil of the Feast to night-fall on the day after." The Saint's day was November 25. The entry rather points to a custom of making a night of it on the hill and in the chapel than to any resort there for health and exercise.

That it had early an importance for Wykehamists is, however, clear from Warden Chandler in his drawing having brought it, spite of all geography, into immediate proximity to St. Giles' Hill at the east end of chapel. It is to be noted that even then it had "Clump" on the

top of it. The story, therefore, how George III., in 1778, struck with the view of the plantation on St. Katharine's Hill, was pleased when he was told that Lord Botecourt, the Colonel of the Gloucestershire Militia, and his men had completed it on one day during the last camp, can only refer to some new trees planted in place of, or in addition to, the old ones.

It is to be conjectured, therefore, that "Hills" was an institution *ab initio*. Why the boys went there, and what they did when they got there, we cannot even conjecture.

XV

COMMONERS AND OUT-COMMONERS

UNDER Pole as Master the School flourished exceedingly—too much so for the equanimity of some person or persons unknown. We have seen how the authorised “outsider commoners” had been full to overflowing in Romsey’s reign. But it was a revolution in the ideas current of the early history of the School, when Mr. Kirby produced from the Muniment Room the startling document, dated April 10, 1412, headed: “Mandate of the Lord Bishop, against admitting outside scholars (*extraneis scholaribus*) to school (*scolas*) in College.” The document is a narrow, neat strip of parchment, addressed “John Morys, the warden of our college of Winchester.” It runs thus:—

Whereas it is contained, as we understand (*concepimus*), in the Statutes of our said College that 70 children (*pueri*) ought to be every year kept at the expense (*de exhibitione*) of the College, and 10 outsiders, sons of friends of the College aforesaid, at their own cost, to be taught grammar by the master deputed for that purpose. But now, as we are informed, the same master continually instructs and teaches grammar to 80 or 100 strangers in the College beyond the said number, and this against the Pious Founder’s intention.

How often since has the "Pious Founder" been dragged in to justify a curtailment of the work of this and other schools, and prevent their free development!

Since one alone clearly does not suffice for the instruction of such a number of persons; Therefore, in virtue of holy obedience and the pains it entails, which against you personally we intend to thunder canonically, if you do not do what we command, we firmly enjoin and command that from Michaelmas next forward you admit no outsider beyond the number limited in the Statutes to be taught (*ad audiendum*) grammar in the after-mentioned College, or allow them to be admitted without your special license on that behalf.

Eighty or a hundred commoners beyond the authorised ten is certainly a large number, making a school of 180 in all, astonishing to those who regard the schools of the Middle Ages as meant for a few choristers. But it need not astonish us when we remember that in 1369 an advocate of the Ecclesiastical Court at York gave 2d. each to "sixty poor clerks of the grammar school of good behaviour," to be named by the schoolmaster on a roll, to "say their whole psalters" for his soul at his burial. If sixty were to be selected for poverty and good behaviour, there must have been a good many more in attendance (*Fortnightly Review*, November 1892, p. 646).

Mr. Kirby informs me that he thinks the Bishop's interference was due to complaints from the Fellows, objecting to the quiet of the college being disturbed by a horde of outer barbarians in the school. I am disposed

to think that Mr. Ralph Greenhurst, the master of the High School, Wykehamist though he was, had been, like Mr. Jordan the ghost 200 years before, agitating about the infringement of his rights, and the unfair competition of this highly-endowed schoolmaster. If, as is likely, most of the hundred were day-boys, he was in danger of being starved out. It really could not matter much to the Fellows whether 80 or 180 boys yelled in Chamber Court, if yell they did, which is doubtful; they do not do it now. To Greenhurst, not merely his reputation, but his livelihood was at stake.

Beaufort's prohibition of Commoners sounds very terrible and emphatic; but, like most mediæval fulminations, the saving clause, "without the Warden's special license," took the lightning out of it, and it probably remained a *brutum fulmen*.

There is no direct evidence of what happened at the time, and the earliest documents bearing on it are nearly half a century later. They belonged to the neighbouring College of St. Elizabeth, and are preserved in the archives of St. Mary's College.

Mackenzie Walcott (p. 149) first called attention to these documents, and in a somewhat exaggerated strain described St. Elizabeth's College as "the first Commoners." The facts, while they do not bear out such a magniloquent description, do suggest that, at a much earlier date than he quotes, St. Elizabeth's College was made use of as a boarding-house for Commoners of the "New College." The earliest document is 2 Henry IV.

(1400), the account of the Steward of the household or inn (*hospitii*), as it is called.

It reports among receipts of cash (*denariorum*) 2d. from "the meadow of the New College of St. Mary of Winchester," and 55s. 4d. "from divers Commoners (*commensalibus*) this year." This is very remarkable, as it points to Commoners, beyond the sacred ten, in Wykeham's lifetime, and almost certainly to his knowledge. Then comes a *hiatus valde deflendus* to 34 & 35 Henry VI. (1455-56), when William Blake (a scholar of Winchester College, 1422), "Provost and Steward of the household (*hospitii*)," accounts for "£8. 0s. 1d. received from the commons (*commensalibus*) of divers men and boys at the table in the Inn of the College," but alas! "their names appear in a paper of the Provost this year," and this paper has gone into some waste-paper basket.

In 39 Henry VI. (1460) is a view of the estate and valuation. One of the items of receipt is again "cash from commons, and the issue of the kitchen and other receipts," £1. 4s. 5d. Hitherto, it may be observed, there is nothing to show what the Commoners at St. Elizabeth's were doing, while as some of them were men they could not all be schoolboys. The next extant account for 1 & 2 Edward IV. (1461-62) is clear, but it only shows one Commoner. "Cash receipts from Commoners, 31s. 8d. Received for commons (*communis*) of William Norton, at school (*scolatis*) in the New College, and present at the table

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in the Inn for thirty-eight weeks this year at 10d. a week."

Another item is "Cash receipts from Commoners. 7s. 10d. received for commons of a Friar Doctor of the Lord Bishop and his servant, present at the table in the Inn in the absence of his lord." This explains the kind of persons who were the "men" commoners. Friar Doctors—the friars being, as Spain learnt to its cost, the chief theologians of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and a majority, even among the Doctors of the theological faculty at Oxford—were frequent guests at St. Mary's College table.

The one boy-commoner cannot, it is to be feared, make St. Elizabeth's into the "First Commoners." That he was a boarder, and not merely a day-boy having his meals there, is proved by the price he paid, which must have included supper as well as dinner, being 2d. a week more than a Scholar's commons in College.

In 3 Edward IV. (1463–64) Mr. William Black, as he is called this time, again accounts up to April 14, 1463, when he died, and the account is continued by his successor as Provost, Walter Field. To distinguish between the receipts of each, the items were set out in detail, and the names given. For William Stamford's commons (*communis*), 7s. 10d. was received from William Oke; 12s. 10d. for William Mundy, sen., and William Mundy, jun., "in commons with the boys for eleven weeks at 14d. a week for the two;" 24s. 8d. for [blank in MS.] Hampton, son of Thomas Hampton, steward, for thirty-

seven weeks at 8d. a week ; 6s. 8d. for William Raines for eight weeks at 10d. a week ; 7s. 8d. from John Gamon for eleven weeks at 8d. a week ; 5s. 7d. from John Botiller of Salisbury at 7d. a week ; 24s. from Thomas Bassett, Henry Duke, and John Duke for twelve weeks at 8d. a week.

The new Provost then came in and took 3s. 6d. from John Butler for six weeks, at 6d. a week ; 16s. from Thomas Smyth for twenty-four weeks, at 8d. a week ; 20s. from Thomas Bassett and Henry Duke, "as appears by the Provost's paper," and 11s. 4d. from John Duke for fourteen weeks, at 10d. a week ; 10s. from John Hampton for fifteen weeks, at 8d. a week. Total, £7. 9s. 9d.

The account shows that T. Hampton was steward of the land of St. Elizabeth's College, and W. Mundy, senior, clerk of the accounts, being also clerk of the chapel. *Non-constat* that their sons were "schooling" at the New College. A song-master was kept for the six choristers at 6s. 8d. a year, and the Mundys paying only 7d. a week, being specially said to "commons with the boys," i.e. the choristers, it seems probable that Mundy, junior, was taught with them. Butler paying only 7d., and then 6d. a week, it is possible he was in the same position. Is he the John Butler admitted into College in 1465, but described as of London ? The rest, nine in number, may be taken to have been attending school in College.

Finally, in 8 Edward IV., 1468-9, the same Provost accounts for £20. 15s. 7d., "received from Mr. John Bourghchyener, and other Commoners, at the table in

the Inn, and schooling in College, as appears by a paper of the receiver." Alas, for these perished papers!

The title of "Mr." attached to John Bourghchyener—a variant of Bouchier or Bouchier—shows that he was a young aristocrat, probably the son and heir to Henry Lord Bouchier and Eu, Earl of Essex, and a relation of the Bouchier who was Cardinal Archbishop of Canterbury. Mr. John did not live to inherit the title, which went to a grandson. The large sum named points to from twenty-five to thirty Commoners in St. Elizabeth's.

This, unfortunately, is the last of the "Elizabethan" documents, and no more of these early out-Commoners are recoverable, unless the descendants or successors of the Wriothesleys can produce some more Account Rolls.

Those quoted certainly suggest that before Beaufort's ban there were "Commoners" boarding in St. Elizabeth's College, and that it did not affect them, at least.

XVI

WINCHESTER AS THE NEW MODEL SCHOOL

WARDEN Morys died the year after Beaufort's ban, October 21, 1413. A copy of his brass lies in chapel. The original was a remarkably fine specimen, as our illustration shows, taken from a rubbing of the original. The "grey amice," like a Canon's, according to the Statutes, with its fur tails and the long lappets hanging down in front, is beautifully shown. Very warm and comfortable it must have been in the unwarmed chapel of those days.

He was succeeded by Robert Thurburn, a Wykehamist no doubt, appearing as an undergraduate Fellow of New College, far down on the list, in the First Hall Book of 1386. His reign lasted till 1450. In the *Annals* (p. 157) he is accused of entertaining at breakfast, in College Hall, in 1420, a vicar of Hampton-on-Thames with his wife. The head of the college did not, however, lend his public sanction to any such scandalous pair. John Uvedale, "vic. de Hampton," the person in question, was Sheriff (*vice-comes*) of Hampshire, and committed no solecism in having a wife.

He was probably one of the "*fili* Uvedale" who were fellow-commoners in 1396-7, and the lawful father of the two Uvedales who were Commoners in 1424.

A worthy of Thurburn's time was John Fromond, who, though the unfortunate accident of being born too soon prevented his being a Wykehamist, became one by adoption. He left his mark at Winchester in one of its most beautiful buildings, "Chantry." He was a Hampshire country gentleman, who became Steward of the College for its Hampshire and Wiltshire estates, and in the latter part of his life spent a great deal of his time in the Steward's Chambers in Outer Gate. For many years he remitted his fee of £5 a year as Steward; though he took a good deal of it out in commons, and was a standing dish at the High Table. He celebrated his connection with the College and provided for his own future felicity by founding a chantry, the priest of which was to receive £6. 13s. 4d., and sing for his soul for ever. Like Wykeham and Waynflete, and others in mediæval times who wanted memorials of themselves preserved, he built the chantry in his own lifetime, which ended in 1426. It is a two-storey building, and a beautiful specimen of its date, as our illustration shows. In my time, the lower storey or chapel was the Fellows' Library, into which it had been converted in 1629 (*Annals*, p. 169), and had the most wonderfully hideous bits of blue and yellow glass in its windows. In 1875 it became a junior chapel. A gorgeous wooden reredos, which two archaic figures and some

strange zoological creations cannot spoil, was given by Dr. Freshfield in 1897. The roof, which is a beautiful specimen of the rich moulding of the time, was this year (1898) restored to something of its original splendour, by the gilding and painting the coats of arms on its bosses at the cost of the Head-master. The west window, given by Chief-Justice Erle about fifty years ago, containing the arms of Queen Victoria, the Prince Consort, and other members of the Royal Family, is a brilliant, not to say gaudy, piece of colouring in the style of Munich glass. It was erected early in the renaissance of painted glass, and as such has already a historical interest, which it is to be hoped will preserve it from destruction, even if to our more educated eyes it is somewhat garish.

Thurburn founded a chantry of his own. It was originally outside Chapel, and was finished by 1450. In 1475 it was perhaps pulled down and rebuilt, or extensively altered to fit it for being the ground floor of the new (present) tower then begun. The roof was formerly adorned with bosses showing his arms and rebus—a flaming censer, a terrible mixed Latin and English pun on his name—and the arms of his friends. It was the chamber under the tower, now appropriated to donnesses in Sunday chapel. Thurburn's memorials and arms and every other remnant of antiquity were carefully swept away by the "restorers" of 1862. Thurburn's brass, which was in his chantry, is now, in copy, on the floor of chapel. Something has gone wrong with the very

FROMOND'S CHANTRY IN CLOISTERS.

From drawing by Mr. Percy Wadham.

To face p. 196.

curious inscription which encircled his head. It is now given—

Cum non possitis fratres evadere mortem
Memento mei in precibus vestris.

The first part is so evidently a hexameter verse that it is pretty certain it did not at the end degenerate into mere prose; but ran thus—

In precibus vestris [sæpe] memento mei.

It may be Englished :

Since, brethren, death you may not flee,
Oft in your prayers remember me.

Of three Head-masters of Thurburn's time next to nothing is known. They "come like shadows, so depart." On Pole's departure, in 1414, Thomas Romsey, who had been taking his ease in Winchester or its neighbourhood, as he frequently appeared as a guest in Hall, returned to office again for four years. He was succeeded by Richard d'Arcey, otherwise unknown to fame, who retired ill in 1418. There was considerable competition for the succession. The Master of the Grammar School attached to Maidstone College, the Masters of Salisbury Cathedral Grammar School, and of Gloucester Grammar School, all offered themselves or were offered the post, while the successful candidate, Thomas Alwyn or Walwayn, came from Buckingham, where there was a Grammar School of St. Thomas the Martyr. He held for ten years, and gave place to the illustrious Wayn-

flete, who was the first Head-master to exceed the ten-year limit.

Of his career at Winchester we know nothing except its conclusion. It must have been strikingly successful for him to have been selected to take a small contingent of Winchester Scholars with him to inaugurate Henry VI.'s great foundation at Eton.

The foundation of Eton was undoubtedly the greatest event in the history of Winchester in the fifteenth century. It stamped with emphatic approval the example set by Wykeham; it fixed for hundreds of years the type on which the English Public School was to be moulded as a great boarding-school for rich and poor; and its existence probably contributed to the salvation of Winchester itself when the crisis of the Reformation came.

The idea, the execution, the completion, and the salvation of Eton alike came from Winchester.

First and foremost among early Wykehamists was Henry Chicheley, Archbishop of Canterbury, and founder of All Souls' College, "for whom I am more especially bound to pray." That he was at school at Winchester there can be no doubt. His name appears among the scholars, *i.e.*, unadmitted and probationary Fellows of New College, in the Hall Book, in the thirty-seventh week of the first year, *i.e.*, June 1387.

If this was his first year, illness, or some such cause, must have kept him from coming up at the proper time, as he took his place eighth on the list of non-

graduates with eleven below him, a place which points to his having been head of his roll. He came from Higham Ferrers in Northamptonshire, but his father, Sir Robert, was twice Lord Mayor of London, so that his admission as a "poor scholar" is a striking commentary on the qualification "poor," which he in turn prescribed for the Fellows of his own college. He obtained his first ecclesiastical preferment in 1396, the Rectory of St. Stephen's, Walbrook, which his father had built. Like Wykeham, he received copious canonries in various cathedrals and collegiate churches. Richard Mitford, an early Fellow of New College, Bishop of Salisbury, made him Archdeacon first of Dorset in 1397, and then of Salisbury in 1402. He became Ambassador to France and Rome, in 1406, and thereby Bishop of St. David's in 1408, and was translated to Canterbury in 1413.

In the last year of Henry V., Chicheley proceeded to imitate Wykeham by founding a College-school at his native place, and a little later establishing a College at Oxford. Canterbury, though the "higher rack," was not "so deep a manger" as Winchester, and the foundations of the Archbishop were nothing like so great as those of the Bishop. At Higham Ferrers, Chicheley returned to the older precedents, and did not establish a separate church or chapel for his school, but "collegiated," and apparently rebuilt the existing church, in which he erected a sumptuous tomb for his parents. In one point he made a distinct advance upon Wykeham. In establishing his College for a Master or Warden, and eight Chaplains or

Fellows, he provided that the teachers should be Fellows and Members of the Foundation : "One of the said chaplains or clerks to be assigned to instruct and to teach grammar, and another, song." He also took over and made part of the Foundation, and, perhaps, further endowed—certainly re-built—a previously existing alms-house or hospital for thirteen poor men. The endowment, largely consisting of the possession of the "Alien" Priory of Mersey in Essex, formerly belonging to the splendid St. Ouen at Rouen, amounted in 1535 to about £200 a year, or about a fifth of that of Winchester. The statutes of the College and its early history are not forthcoming. The first notice of it beyond the licenses in mortmain is a direction found in Chicheley's Register (11. 6.) on 18th December 1443, addressed to the Sub-warden and Sir Clement Smyth, "Master of the scholars there," who was a Wykehamist, afterwards Head-master of Eton, and thence promoted to Winchester, to admit a new Master or Warden.

Chicheley is credited with having founded St. Bernard's College at Oxford for Cistercian monks in 1432, but it is probable that he only lent his name, *ex-officio*, as patron, since Mr. Rashdall has pointed out (*Universities*, II. 77) that this building was not finished for half-a-century afterwards, and its statutes, given in 1446, were given by a Cistercian Abbot as representative of the General Chapter of the Order.

Chicheley's own College, founded in 1438, was, like Wykeham's, essentially a secular foundation, "only more

so." It was placed as near as it could be, inconveniently near indeed, to its model New College, and buildings, establishment, and statutes were as like as they could be, only on a smaller scale. The differences were just such as the development of half a century might produce. Out of the forty Fellows, nearly half (sixteen) were to be lawyers; and the distinction between full Fellows and scholars, actually practised at New College, appears in legal form. All Souls is sometimes spoken of as a chantry *par excellence*, but in truth the chantry provisions are not perceptibly more marked than in its predecessor, only instead of the Virgin, the souls of the faithful departed, particularly those who fell in the French war, were to be the main object of prayer. Richard Andrews, a Wykehamist, came from New College to be the first Warden of All Souls. He became Secretary to the King, and Dean of York.

Unfortunately, there was no organic connection established between the College at Higham Ferrers and that at Oxford, with the result that Higham Ferrers disappeared under Henry VIII. by "free and voluntary surrender" into the pocket of a Dacres, for "services rendered," on condition of maintaining the Hospital and School. The School still stands, and the Master, when there is one, still receives the old statutable stipend of £10 a year from the owner of the £4000 a year which the estates must now be worth.

Chicheley was Henry VI.'s godfather, and made him joint-founder of All Souls. It can hardly be doubted that

the first idea of Eton and of King's came from his example and precept.

Another and younger Wykehamist, Thomas Beckington, admitted 1403, was in even closer relations with Henry, as tutor. One of Wykeham's "lawyers," he had come into fame and ecclesiastical preferments by a treatise on the Salic Law in favour of Henry V.'s claim on the throne of France. He became Privy Seal and Secretary of State, and afterwards Bishop of Bath and Wells. Chandler, who was made by him Treasurer of Wells, gives a charmingly original drawing of him seated on his throne in his palace there, receiving guests. He made or confirmed statutes for the Choristers' School at Wells. It is significant of the difference between the really poor boy and Wykeham's poor scholar, that these choristers were to sleep three in a bed—"two small boys with their heads to the head of the bed, and one big one, who is to put his feet between the heads of the small ones." He also insists, much as did the founder of Queen's, for his poor boys, on their behaviour at meals. They were to eat like gentlemen (*curialiter et honeste*), to cut or nicely break their bread, not gnaw it with their teeth or tear it with their nails; to drink with their mouth empty, not full; and to eat with moderation, not ravenously, lifting up their heads with their food; and they were not to clean their teeth with their knives. Wykeham, having to do with gentlemen, found such injunctions superfluous. It is curious to note that two Commoners, not more than ten or twelve years of age,

were allowed to live with these choristers, but not to stay more than two or three years.

If Chicheley supplied the idea and the example for the foundation of Eton, its execution was left to Beckington, then Archdeacon of Buckingham, and Richard Andrews, the first Warden of All Souls. Henry of Windsor could not put his foundation at his native place, as the church—a very ancient Collegiate Church of St. Mary—had been established on a magnificent scale as St. George's Chapel by Edward III. and Bishop Edington. But he put it as near as he could when he took over and collegiated the Church of Our Lady at Eton, by Windsor, in 1440.

Henry's establishment at Eton, as given in the first charter, October 11, 1440, was modelled rather on Higham Ferrers than on Winchester. It comprised only twenty-five scholars and six choristers, but included twenty-five alms-men. He then determined, apparently, to go and visit his model and see it for himself. His visits loom large in Winchester College records.

Some are set out at length in the *Liber Albus*, and thence by Mackenzie Walcott (186-7) and Kirby (192). "The first coming of the most serene Prince was Saturday, 31st July, the nineteenth year of his reign," viz., 1441 (not 1440). He then offered a mark at mass, the traditional offering of a sovereign on such occasions. His next visit was on St. Cecilia's Day (November 22), the same year. "Besides his daily offering (a mark), he offered 100 nobles for the ornamentation of the high altar, and gave

a remarkable sum of gold, viz., £6. 13s. 4d., among the scholars and choristers, and confirmed the privileges, liberties, and franchises of the College." No wonder that on this occasion his style is raised to that of "the Most Christian King," and it is added, "wherefore it is right that his eternal memorial should be continually kept in the same." In 1445, September 4, he came again and gave the College "his second best robe, furred with sables," and was there again to listen to the organ on November 21 and 22. On May 7, 1446, he gave "the College" (was it the Fellows this time, not the boys?) £6. 13s. 4d.

Here he must have formed a special admiration for William Waynflete, the Head-master. It has sometimes been doubted whether Waynflete was a Wykehamist, but out of the mouth of two Chandlers the light has shone to prove it. The last Chandler, Richard, a Wykehamist (1753) and Fellow of Magdalen, who wrote Waynflete's Life, quotes a passage from his namesake, Thomas, admitted 1430, and therefore one of Waynflete's earliest pupils, which is conclusive. "Springing," he says of Waynflete, "from the root of such a foundation, like a flourishing shoot, by the help and assistance of Thomas Beckington, most beneficent lord, prelate of the church of Wells, he grew, as it were, into a mighty cedar." The name of Waynflete is not found in the Scholars' Register; but we learn from Chandler II., quoting documents at Magdalen, that his father's name was Pattene, *alias* Barbour. Now, a William Pattney was on the Roll for Winchester in 1403, two places below Beckington. He

left in 1406, and did not go to New College, as the New College Register knows neither him nor Waynflete. Waynflete assumed, probably, on taking orders the name of the place where his father resided. This was a common practice. A notable contemporary instance is William of Alnwick, Bishop of Lincoln, who was a Percy, son of the Earl.

In 1442 the buildings of Eton were sufficiently advanced for the school to begin, and Waynflete had the honour to be selected to be its first Head-master. We always fondly believed the story, accepted even by Sir Henry Maxwell-Lyte (*History of Eton*, Macmillan, 1877, p. 17), that half the Foundation—five fellows and thirty-five scholars—of Winchester went with him. But it sounds rather too neat to be true, and Mr. Kirby's *Scholars* showed it to be untrue. It is, perhaps, rather surprising than otherwise to find that it had a solid core of fact, for six scholars of Winchester are entered in the register, *Recessit ad Etonam*, "Left for Eton." But three of them—John Langporte, of Twyford, near Winchester, admitted to Winchester 1432 (so that he had been there eleven years !); Robert Dommett or Dommetge, also a Hampshire boy, admitted 1435; and Richard Carr, from Wiltshire, last on the Roll for 1436, were only nominally admitted to Eton, being the same year admitted among the first Fellows of King's (*Alumni Etonenses*). It is greatly to be feared that they must have been Winchester "thicks," who, despairing of New College, were thought good enough for King's.

As to the Fellows, none appear to have gone, though Mr. Kirby says that two Fellows of New College were among the first Fellows of Eton.

Waynflete could have been little more than a nominal Head-master, as he was Provost in 1443, when the statutes of Eton College were promulgated (*Maxwell-Lyte*, p. 21). The Wykehamical cast was, however, secured by the appointment of William Westbury (admitted 1428 a Fellow of New College) to succeed him, while Thomas Foster, or Forster, admitted 1434, was Head-master of Eton in 1453. The Eton statutes have been said to have been "transcribed" from those of Winchester. Their language, indeed, is in most provisions taken *verbatim* from those of Winchester, but there are many important differences and additions. The full 70 scholars were adopted, and the 10 Fellows, but there were 10 chaplains, and 10 clerks instead of 3, and 13 poor. An important difference was that the Provost was also to act as Rector of Eton parish, and received £25 in that capacity, besides £50 a-year as Provost. The scale of wages was raised all round. The Fellows were to receive £10, the Conducts 10 marks, or double as much as their Winchester prototypes. The Master Teacher was to receive 24 marks, or £16, as against £10. Moreover, besides 20 Commoners in the College (*commensales*), it was expressly provided that the School was to be open, free (*libere et gratis*), to all who might come from any part of England. It is tempting to think the additional £6 given to the Master repre-

sented compensation for the loss of fees from Commoners, and that we can thus estimate the number of "outside commoners" then at Winchester as averaging about 60 in number.

In 1444 the cloth for the gowns at Eton was bought at Winchester (*Maxwell-Lyte*, p. 23). Henry's admiration for Winchester was carried so far that in 1448 he sent for a specimen of the ground on which it stood, as if it were a gold mine, and the secret of success lay in some subtle savour of it. As five men were employed in getting the slice sent it must have been a large one. On July 1, that year, too, a "Solemn League and Covenant," called an *Amicabilis Concordia*, was entered into between Nicholas Owslebury and Robert Thurburn, Wardens, and the Fellows and scholars of the two St. Mary Winton Colleges, and William Millington, Provost of the Royal College of St. Mary and St. Nicholas of Cambridge, and William Waynflete, Provost of the Royal College of St. Mary of Eton, and their Fellows and scholars, for mutual support in all quarrels and suits at law (*Walcott*, pp. 131-2).

The two first Wykehamist Head-masters of Eton may be regarded as its second Founders. Edward IV., on coming to the throne, determined to destroy that great Lancastrian institution, and transferred all its possessions to St. George's, Windsor. Westbury, then Provost, put forward a public protest against this; and, in spite of Papal Bulls, by the aid of Waynflete, succeeded in getting the bulk of its possessions restored. A third Wykehamist Head-master came also to the rescue. This was

Clement Smyth, who being, as we have seen, Master at Higham Ferrers College, was made Head-master of Eton in 1453. In 1458 he resigned this for a Fellowship at Eton. In 1464 he became Head-master of Winchester, retiring in 1466. But when Eton was in difficulties, in 1468, though the stipend had been diminished from £16 to £10, he nobly returned to Eton as Head-master, and there remained till 1470, being made a Canon of Windsor in 1469 (*Maxwell-Lyte*, pp. 656 and 518). The Eton stipend was not raised again for nearly 100 years.

The Head-mastership of Winchester was both the "higher rack and deeper manger," and two Wykehamists who held the Head-mastership of Eton, Horman, 1489-95, and Erlisman, 1511-17, used it as a stepping-stone to Winchester. Horman, like Smyth, returned to Eton in the capacity of Fellow and Vice-Provost; he died in 1535, and is buried in Eton Chapel. Other Wykehamist Head-masters of Eton were Thomas Muche, or Michell, 1484; Robert Yonge, 1501; Thomas White, 1521; and Nicholas Udal, of whom hereafter. And so we leave Eton to its greater days, which were no doubt materially hastened through Edward IV.'s confiscation, which reduced the incubus of Fellows from ten to five, and the rest of the staff in proportion.

Waynflete must have made a great impression on Henry VI., for, on his uncle Cardinal Beaufort's death, he on the same day wrote to the monks of St. Swithun to elect him as successor. Beaufort died on April 9, on the 13th Waynflete was elected, and in July conse-

crated in Eton Chapel. He was the first of the great schoolmaster-bishops, of whom Richard Fox (Stratford-on-Avon), and Thomas Wolsey (Magdalen College School), were two notable followers, and the three last Archbishops of Canterbury, and the first Bishop of Southwell are not the least examples. Winchester College attended Waynflete's consecration, provided the new Bishop with a horse, and "tipped" the Eton scholars a mark, or about 2d. a piece. So in Swinburnian phrase Waynflete once more abandoned "the lilies and languors" of Eton for the "roses and raptures" of Winchester, which roses, by the way, were afterwards stolen from the Arms of Winchester by King's College, and placed in its own shield.

On June 19, 1449 (not 1448), Henry VI. came to Winchester for the enthronement of Waynflete, "formerly master of the scholars of this College." The College sent him two kids (*edos*), two pheasants, a dozen partridges, and seven fowls, cost 9s. 7d.; and to the Bishop, ten lambs, two dozen capons, and ten couple of rabbits, cost 8s. Breakfast to the Provosts of King's and Eton, and the expenses of the Bishop of Bath, Beckington, cost £4. 14s. (*Walcott*). In the summer of the same year Parliament was held at Winchester for a month, June 16 to July 16, and the King came to services in Chapel six times, chiefly on Sundays, the Archbishop and divers Bishops officiating. The boys had a good time, as Bishop Beckington entertained the whole College "most gorgeously" on June 29. On St. Thomas the

Martyr's Day, July 7, the Archbishop and three Bishops and "other notables, viz., the Clerk of the Rolls, the Clerk of the Parliament, the Clerk of the Hanaper, and many more" officiated, and the Archbishop gave 40s. (= £40) "to the scholars for refreshment." It is curious to note that, of the three bishops who officiated on this occasion, one, Adam de Moleyns, Bishop of Chichester, was killed by the people at Portsmouth to celebrate the loss of Rouen, and another, Ayscough, Bishop of Salisbury, was put to death at Edington by his own followers at the time of Jack Cade's insurrection. On the last day of Parliament the King was present at the Lady Mass, and gave "to God, St. Mary, and the high altar a tabernacle (i.e., probably the cover of the pix) of gold." He also gave a pair of silver-gilt basins, with the arms of England and France in the middle, and elaborate Latin verses engraved on the rim, stating the donor and the date.

St. Mary of Winchester has never found so royal a lover since, nor any one who descended on her in such showers of gold. But not a wrack remains of these gorgeous offerings, sacrificed, no doubt, to the destructive necessities of Charles I.

Waynflete, from the first moment he became Bishop, began to emulate Wykeham's example as a founder. He became Bishop of Winchester in 1447. The license for the establishment of Magdalen Hall for a president and fifty fellows was dated May 6, 1448, and its charter of foundation, August 18 of that year. It was carried on in

HEAD OF WAYNFLETE [?] IN CHANTRY.

From window of Thurburn's Chantry, c. 1455.

To face p. 210.

hired halls till 1458, when it was transferred to its present site, then St. John's Hospital. The Wars of the Roses intervened, and it was not till May 5, 1474, that the present buildings were begun, nor till August 23, 1480, that the college was fully established with a Wykehamist, Mr. Richard Mayhew, Fellow of New College, as first President. The statutes were closely modelled on those of New College and All Souls.

Waynflete showed his Wykehamical spirit by a provision, unique in college statutes, throwing open the presidency to the members of the parent College as well as to members of Magdalen itself. He also, in following Wykeham's precedent at Winchester as to the admission of commoners, took a step as important for the future development of college and university life as Wykeham did for that of schools. He doubled Wykeham's number. His twenty commoners, "sons of gentry and special friends of the College," were probably the salvation of the colleges as of the public schools, and certainly were the cause of their after success. Wykehamists have, in the last thirty years, shown their appreciation of his efforts, by flocking there in numbers less only than to New College.

The buildings, though not on so grand a scale as those of New College, have, through the identification of the cloister with the quadrangle (an arrangement imitated by Wolsey at Christ Church), a special beauty of their own. The site is far better, and as the buildings have not been spoilt by later additions, Magdalen is the most beautiful college and the most perfect specimen

of mediæval architecture in Oxford. With its erection the glories of the Wykehamical quarter of Oxford were completed.

Waynflete followed Wykeham, too, in attaching a school to his college, and not one school only, but two, or even three schools. But he departed from his model in a manner unfortunate for his schools. Instead of placing them on an independent footing, he put them under the tutelage, and made them a part of, the college. Magdalen College School was opened in 1479, inside the college, and in 1480 removed to separate buildings outside its gates. The constitution of the school is an indirect testimony to the growth and permanence of Commoners at Winchester, in spite of Beaufort's *ultimatum*, though it also, perhaps, testifies to some friction between Waynflete, when schoolmaster, and the Fellows, as to free access to the school. The thirty Demyes were not probation Fellows, as were the scholars at New College and at Magdalen itself, but corresponded to the Scholars of Winchester. They were to be twelve years old when elected, and might stay, like Founder's kin at Winchester, to twenty-five. They were to attend the Grammar School, and were under the charge of the Master teacher of it, and were to be instructed in "grammar, poetry, and other arts of humanity." The school was placed outside the college, so that all who wished to come, whether out-boarders or day-boys, might have ready access to it. Like Eton, the school was to be open and free, the Master to teach freely (*libere et gratis*) all who

came to it. There was an Usher, and the wages of Master and Usher were the same as at Winchester. A new feature, which marks the ex-schoolmaster, was that it was to be in part a training-school for masters. "Two or three of the thirty at least were to study, so that not only might they profit themselves, but be able to instruct and teach others, and stand qualified for the purpose."

The school at first, under several Wykehamical masters, was a great success. From it issued the first modern grammars, and the "new learning" profited no little by its aid. It was when Head-master of it that Wolsey got his first start in life, through taking home for the holidays two distinguished pupils, the sons of Grey, Marquis of Dorset.

In later years its dependence on the College was against it. Even in 1867 the College only paid the Master £126 a year, and the Usher £90. Of the 102 boys in it, 66 were day-boys, and 16 were choristers. Lately, it has acquired fine new buildings, an imposing pile on the other side of Magdalen Bridge.

After the school at Oxford, Waynflete, imitating Wykeham and Chicheley, also established a school at his native place, Wainfleet, in Lincolnshire, then a fairly considerable, though waning, seaport. The building is a splendid pile of brick in two stories, with two towers (*Vetusta Monumenta*, iii., Plate 6), the contract for the carpentry work of which, in 1484, is printed in Chandler's *Life of Waynflete*. The Master was to have the same

endowment as the Master of Winchester College, £10 a year. But though estates in Lincolnshire were apparently bought for it, they were given to the College, and the school was entirely under its control. Result, that in 1819 its endowment still consisted of £10 a year, and it was an elementary school.

Yet another school was, perhaps, founded by him at Brackley, in Northamptonshire. A decayed hospital there was bought by him in 1483, and united to his College. It is not clear whether there was a Grammar School kept there as early as 1488, or whether the extracts from the Accounts quoted by Chandler (p. 169) do not refer to its use as a place of refuge in plague or sickness by the scholars of Magdalen itself. In 1548 the College represented to the Chantry Commissioners that they had just converted the Chantry there into a Free Grammar School (*English Schools at the Reformation*, ii. p. 150–151). It is not mentioned in Magdalen College statutes, and has never been anything but a country grammar school. In 1866 it had thirty-eight boys in it.

In this century, then, not only was the chief work of the State done by those who came from Wykeham's school, but the most prominent among them were also eager to lay the foundation of new colleges and schools, and so spread to others the advantages they had themselves enjoyed.

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XVII

WYKEHAMISTS OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

THE middle year of the century was marked by the accession to the Wardenship of the Thomas Chandler we have so often mentioned, whose drawing forms our frontispiece.

This is taken from a Life of Wykeham, written by him, and preserved at New College. The Life is a dreary performance in itself, as it sets out in true scholastic method to prove that Wykeham possessed all the virtues as defined by Aristotle: that he was the magnanimous man, the continent man, and so forth. It adds no new facts to the Life of Wykeham, except by saying positively that he was not at the University. Towards the end the writer breaks out into praises of the great work Wykeham's foundations have done, and gives us the drawing here presented of famous Wykehamists.

It shows Wykeham in the middle, seated, holding in his hands models of his two colleges—Winchester with its original spire. On one side stand two Archbishops—Chicheley, and Cranley, Archbishop of Dublin; slightly lower, two Bishops, Beckington and Waynflete. Cranley,

it may be observed, was only a Wykehamist by adoption, as the first Warden of Winchester, being a Fellow of Merton. It has been conjectured that the mitres being slightly lifted off the heads of Cranley, Chicheley, and Beckington show that they were then dead, but this is not consistent with the dedication of the book to Beckington, then living. The real reason is probably to show the Doctors' caps. Wykeham and Waynflete were not University men, and had no caps to show. It will be observed that all the figures are clad in a long gown and hood, presumably the ordinary dress worn by clerical dignitaries at that time. On a respectfully lower level than the Bishops stand two Deans, Richard Andrews, Dean of York, admitted in 1413, first Warden of All Souls, and Secretary of State; William Say, Dean of St. Paul's, and of Windsor. As Master of St. Anthony's Hospital, London, in 1446, the latter was concerned with Waynflete in making statutes for its new constitution, which made a school an essential part of it. This school is said to have had for scholars Dean Colet and Sir Thomas More.

The other Wykehamical worthies portrayed by Chandler are, on the left, first, and not least, himself, as Chancellor of Wells Cathedral. He had been Warden of Winchester in 1450, Warden of New College, 1453; Chancellor of the University of Oxford, 1457-67; Secretary of State under Henry VI. and Edward IV. As Chancellor of York Minster he made an innovation for the benefit of St. Peter's School there in 1486, by

FAMOUS WYKEHAMISTS, c. 1460.

From drawing by Warden Chandler at New College, Oxford.

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appointing a Master for life. He was at that time also Dean of Hereford.

Next him is Andrew (Hulse), then Archdeacon of Wells. He was Chancellor of Salisbury, 1438–70, and founded a chantry there, to which the Warden and Fellows presented, and an obit in College.

On his right is John (Norton), Archdeacon of "Barks." He died in 1462, and his upturned face and finger probably may mean that he had already "gone aloft." The bashful person with his back turned (which may mean that he had turned his back on this world) was Hugh Sugar, Treasurer of Wells, whose arms, three sugar-loaves rampant, are to be seen in divers places in Wells Cathedral, but after four hundred years were ruthlessly destroyed from the roof of Thurburn's chantry in his own School chapel.

On the extreme right is John Selous, Archdeacon of Cornwall, who is buried in Eton College Chapel.

To those shown in the drawing Chandler adds a long list of eminent men :—

| | | | |
|--|---|---|---------------|
| John Morton, S.T.P., i.e., D.D. | . | . | Admitted 1416 |
| Thomas Marsh, Canon of Wells | . | . | „ 1427 |
| Thomas Edmund, Canon of Lichfield | . | . | „ 1427 |
| Thomas Halle, Canon of St. Paul's | . | . | „ 1429 |
| Thomas Walkinton, Canon of Lincoln | . | . | „ 1423 |
| Thomas Durset, Canon of Hereford (probably the William Darset in <i>Scholars</i>) | . | . | „ 1431 |
| John Ruscelle, Canon of St. Stephens, Westminster | . | . | „ 1443 |

This was the Russell, Bishop of Lincoln, first Life
Chancellor of Oxford University, whose chantry and
tomb are in Lincoln Cathedral.

John Baker, Warden of Winchester . Admitted 1431

His brass, or rather a copy of it, is in Chapel.

John Kingscote, Archdeacon of Gloucester ,, 1427

Bishop of Carlisle in 1462.

William Westbury, Provost of Eton, Canon
of Salisbury ,, 1435

He was also master of St. Cross, by Winchester, and
Canon of Lincoln.

This is certainly a remarkable list for a school of seventy boys. It is not exhaustive, and if the Commoners could be followed up could, no doubt, be further extended.

In the last half of the fifteenth century Warden Baker had a long reign, 1452-87. In the course of it he erected the present Tower, rebuilding Thurburn's Chantry as its lower storey. College was supplied in 1482 with water by an aqueduct from Segrym's Well, and acquired a good many accretions of land. The College were, of course, quite impartial in their attitude during the Wars of the Roses. The notion (*Annals*, 214) that the Bursars showed their loyalty to the Lancastrians by calling Edward IV. *Principi* and not *Regi* when they were doing homage to him in 1473, and getting a renewal of their Charter, is wholly imaginative. *Princeps* is precisely the title used of Henry VI. when the College was most effusive over his numerous and generous visitations. At that date, the Bursars were well enough acquainted with their Classics and Roman Law to know that *Princeps* was in truth a higher title than king,

being that of the Cæsars, and the favourite title of Augustus.

Clerk, who succeeded Baker, saw the century out, and died in 1502.

The Head-masters during the same period were Thomas Alwyn, who returned after Waynflete's departure for two years. William Ive followed for ten years; John Barnard of Over Wallop, Hampshire, scholar in 1435, Fellow of New College, succeeded in 1454, at the age of 32; and another Wykehamist succeeded him, John Grene, admitted 1429. From that time no one but a Wykehamist has ever sat upon the throne of Winchester School. Grene was, as we have seen, succeeded for a short two years by Clement Smyth. He was succeeded by Richard Dene, who held office for the longest time of any master from the beginning of the College to the year 1700, and nearly double that of any one else until 1601. He held for no less than eighteen years, from 1466, dying in office in 1484. After him John Rede, 1484-90; Robert Fescam, 1490-94; William Farlyngton, 1494-1502, finished the century between them. Excellent men all they may have been, but they were without a historian.

The supply of bishops and magnates was not less good than in the preceding half-century. The roll of honours is made up of three Archbishops, two of Canterbury, Dene and Warham, another, Yong of Dublin; and two Bishops, another Bishop of Bath, William Knyght; another Bishop of St. Davids, afterwards of Chichester,

Robert Sherborne; two suffragan Bishops *in partibus infidelium*, John Yong, Bishop of Callipoli or Gallipoli, Warden of New College, with a fine brass in Ante-Chapel there; and Thomas Wellys, Bishop of Sidon. A Dean of York, another John Yong, who was also Master of the Rolls, is buried with a fine monument in the Rolls Chapel—or rather was, as this edifice of Henry III. was destroyed two years ago by the Office of Works for the sake of symmetry.

Chandler, as Warden of Winchester, and then of New College, was the Janus through whom the passage from the “old” to the new “learning” was made. While he celebrated the past glories of Wykeham and Beckington and the earlier generation of Wykehamists, he passed on the torch of learning to be carried into new regions by Warham and Grocyn.

Warham is a figure well known to historians, as the link between the old and the new learning. As the reforming prelate, the patron of Grocyn, Erasmus, and Sir Thomas More, he is praised by all parties. His part, as the first expositor, on a large scale, of the corruption and general uselessness of the monasteries, their utter failure to observe their rule, and to live the life in virtue of which alone they could claim to remain in possession of their endowments, has been amply related by Froude. I will add one example, which I happened to come across in Warham’s visitation of his own Cathedral church of Canterbury, the premier church in England, the home of its first School. It is in MS. Arundel 68,

at the British Museum, f. 69—"Articles of defects detected at a visitation made September 9, 1511." "Also let provision be made of a fit teacher in grammar, to plainly teach the novices, and other young monks, grammar. For in default of instruction, it happens that many of the monks who celebrate mass, and perform other divine service, are absolutely ignorant of what they are reading, to the great scandal and disgrace alike of religious orders in general and of this monastery in particular (*tam religionis quam monasterii*). Also let the novices and other monks not be without books."

Warham was a good Wykehamist, and while alive and also by his will gave handsome presents of books to both Winchester and New College.

XVIII

GROCYN THE GRECIAN

THE name of Grocyn suggests his fame as the "First Grecian" in England. This was vindicated for him by Montagu Burrows, Chicheley Professor of Modern History, in an article *à propos* of a newly discovered list of his library, in the Oxford Historical Society's *Collectanea* for 1890 (pp. 316-389). Grocyn headed the Roll for College in 1463, and went to New College in 1465. He must have been an exceedingly apt scholar in the Latinities to have perpetrated the excellent "vulgus" attributed to him by Fuller—a vulgus, by the way, which should go far to stop the exaggerated silliness about the barbarism of the Latin of our respected predecessors of the fifteenth century. A girl threw a snow-ball at him, and it was perhaps fortunate if she did not know the fire-work she got in return.

Me nive candenti petiit mea Julia ; rebar
Igne carere nivem, nix tamen ignis erat.
Sola potes nostras extinguere, Julia, flammās
Non nive, non glacie, sed potes igne pari.

This may be translated :

My Julia smote me with a ball of snow,
I thought that snow was cold, but 'tis not so.
The fire you wakened, Julia, in my frame,
Not snow, nor ice can cool : but answering flame.

Grocyn, for all his pretty wit, did not allow any frolicsome Julias to divert him from his fellowship, or from the degree of B.D. When Warden Chandler established an Italian, Cornelio Vitelli, as Lecturer at New College, it is conjectured rather than proved, that he taught Greek and found an apt pupil in Grocyn. "Did not," says Erasmus, "Grocyn himself learn the rudiments of Greek in England? Afterwards, when he visited Italy, he attended the lectures of the first scholars of the day, but in the meantime it was an advantage to him to have learnt the rudiments from whoever were his teachers."

He was a rector of a college living, a canon of Lincoln, and great enough in Divinity to be Divinity Reader at Magdalen, and one of four theological athletes who wrestled for the edification of Richard III. when he visited Waynflete's new College. In 1488 Grocyn betook himself to Italy, returning to Oxford in 1491, where he lived at Exeter College; and with Linacre, who had also been to Italy, and Latimer, Fellows of All Souls, gave public lectures in Greek. It was in 1497 that Erasmus sat under him and made friends with More and Colet. Erasmus tells a story of him which shows singular honesty as well as learning. He was lecturing at St. Paul's on Dionysius the Areopagite, and at first

supported the authenticity of the work. "But when he had lectured some weeks" (and began to know something of what he was talking about) "he did not hesitate to retract his opinion before the same audience, refusing any longer to recognise the author as the Areopagite."

As Rector of St. Lawrence, Jewry, he opened his church as a lecture room for Thomas More, and saw the seed that he had sown bear fruit in Colet's foundation and Lily's teaching of the renovated St. Paul's School.

Warham, a much younger Wykehamist, who had taken to the more profitable study of the canon law, not "at the bar" (as Kirby), but in ecclesiastical courts, when he became Archbishop, gave Grocyn in his old age the Mastership of the College at Maidstone. Archbishop Courtney founded it about the same time that Wykeham founded Winchester, and it still survives in the grammar school attached to it. Here Grocyn died and gave his red gown to Alice Linacre; was she the Julia of his old age?

Grocyn left but few books behind him to cumber the earth, for which reason he seems to have been the more praised in his own generation, and was dubbed by Erasmus "the patron and leader of us all."

It is interesting to see that among the 105 printed books comprised in his executor's list (some, however, had been previously given away) there were only two Greek books, the New Testament in Greek and Latin, and the Works of Aristotle; and it is by no means

certain that the latter was in Greek. On the other hand, all the chief classical Latin authors are represented, some of them by more than one copy. He died in 1519; so it is rather surprising to find there were only seventeen manuscripts in his library.

While Grocyn led the way in new studies at the Universities, his schoolfellows were doing the same in the Grammar Schools. The first usher of Waynflete's new school at Magdalen College was John Stanbridge, or Stanbrygge, as he is spelt in the Winchester Register (*Scholars*, p. 83). He came from Adderbury, a New College possession, was admitted in 1475, and became a scholar of New College in 1481. At the age of twenty-five (1487) he became usher, and in 1494 Head-master of Magdalen School. In 1501 he was collated to the Mastership of St. John the Baptist's Hospital at Banbury, to which either a school was already attached, or it was by him used as the endowment of a school. He was the author of several grammatical works. Their chief merit was that some of them were the first, or among the first, in English, his *Parvulorum Institutio* and *Accidentia* being both in that language.

He brought Banbury School into great fame. Sir Thomas Pope, founder of Trinity College, Oxford, is said to have been there, and by the statutes of his College (1556) gave Banbury School a second preference for its scholarships. The foundation of Manchester Grammar School in 1515 was expressed to be for a master "to teach and instruct children in grammar

according to the form of grammar then taught in the school of the town of Banbury." A similar provision is made in the statutes of 1525, and in those for Merchant Taylors' School in 1560.

The most interesting book that he published was one in black letter: "Emprynted at London in the Fletestrete in the Sygne of the Sonne, by Wynkyn de Worde, anno 1508, die Marcii." It is called *Vulgaria*, and is, I believe, the origin of the "Vulguses" that still used to torment our souls at Winchester in 1865. The meaning of the name is not quite clear. It probably meant "common-places," or extracts from a "common-place book." But it may have meant common words, or words in the vulgar tongue. Stanbridge's *Vulgaria* is a sort of dictionary in verse of the Latin words which might be supposed to occur in composition in everyday life, arranged more or less in headings. Thus the first line is—

Sinciput et vertex, caput, occiput et coma, crinis.

Hoc sinciput—is the fore-part of the head.

Hic vertex—is for the crown of the head.

Later on the explanations are dispensed with, the English names being merely printed over the Latin—

a garment, a clothe, idem, apparayle,
Dic indumentum, vestis, vestitus, amictus.

Strange liberties are occasionally taken with the metre, and even with the quantities, as in

an arohdeken, an offloyall, a bedill, a dean.
Archidiaconus, officialis, preco, decanus.

A second and slightly enlarged edition was published in 1518, with an engraving of the author seated in his library. This must have been posthumous, as he is said to have died in 1510 (*Banbury*, by Alfred Beesley. London, 1841, p. 196).

Next year (1519) another Wykehamist, William Horman, of Salisbury, scholar 1468, scholar of New College 1475, Head-master of Eton from 1485 to 1494, and of Winchester 1494 to 1502, also published a book called *Vulgaria*. It is a work of a much more elaborate character. Stanbridge's *Vulgaria* was a black letter pamphlet of some sixteen pages; this is a book printed in modern type of over 300 pages. Incredible as it may appear, it is extremely entertaining.

The book was ushered in with great blowing of trumpets. It is dedicated to William Attwater, Bishop of Lincoln, at whose instance, the preface tells us, it was written, after the author's retirement from the public office of teaching youth which he had served for many years. The Bishop had suggested to him that he should "not suffer to die" the themes (*dictata*) which he had given the boys. The difficulty was, the author says, that they were all *ex tempore*, but as they were all founded on good authors, he had put together his notes, and arranged them in order, but he could not recollect the references to the authors from whom they were taken. A very elaborate preface by Robert Aldrich, then Head-master of Eton, is added, in which he says Horman calls the book "*vulgars*, though they are

nothing less than known to the vulgar, but now published by a most learned teacher for the common good of his pupils, and which, if they have not used them already, they will do so henceforward, unless they wish to be vulgarly silly." This is calculated to make the reader suppose that the term and thing were invented by Horman. But, as we have seen, the term was used eleven years before by Stanbridge, and very likely earlier. Horman was probably living in London when the book was published, as there are a great many references to London, the Thames, and St. Paul's in it; and two epigrams by William Lily and Thomas Rightwich (*sic*), the High Master and Usher of St. Paul's School, adorn it.

The book consists of English sentences with Latin translations under them, arranged in chapters under various headings, as religion, irreligion, school, games, war, and the like.

Many of the sentences are extremely interesting from the side light they throw on the internal life of schools, particularly Winchester and Eton. Thus under religion (*De pietate*) we read, "Kynge Henry dothe many divers miracles" (*Divus Henricus non una miraculorum specie inclarescit*). This is Etonian clearly. But the numerous references to the Virgin savour rather of Winchester. We are told "The holynes of our Lady pulled God out of heaven." "Our Lady's ymage ought to stand gylte in a tabernacle upon a base of marble." The quaintest saying on that subject is: "Our Lady hath a golden cote before, but nothyng behynde" (*Maria*

habet auream tunicam in antica parte, in postica nuda est). Still quainter are the remarks: "It becometh not clerkes to haunte a nunnerye alone, not erly, nor late," and "Some nonnys kepe their virginite but easily" (*Quædam sanctimoniales suam virginitatem parum sancte tuentur*). Irreligion, or *De impietate*, is largely taken up with Turks and witches—a proof, by the way, that witches were not a post-Reformation invention. In the chapter on scholars (*scolasticis*) the most remarkable thing is the large number of references to Greek. "He hath founded a Reder in Greke for a c. ducatts a yere." "He is singularly well-learned in Greke and Latyn." "We have played a comedi of Greke." "He uttereth goodly his Greke." It is to be noted that at the end of the book "Telos" is printed for "Finis," and among other remarks is one that no poet comes up to Pindar. There is a letter of Sir Thomas Pope's (*Life*, p. 226) in 1556, saying that when "he was a young scholar at Eton the Greke tongue was growing apace, the studie of which is now much decaid." Horman's words appear to indicate that it flourished in his time, 1494–1502, at Winchester. Indeed, there can hardly be a doubt that the School of Grocyn, Chandler, Warham, officially visited by the two latter, took the lead in the introduction of Greek into the curriculum of schools.

One would like to know whether the following utterances betoken a common language at Winchester and Eton. "I am Prepositor of my boke" (*Duco classem*). The word "Prepositor" was still used alternately for

Prefect at Winchester in the eighteenth century, though now exclusively Etonian. On the other hand, "book" for "form" is now exclusively Wykehamical. "Many remedies make easy scholars" (*Minervales feriæ crebiores ineruditos faciunt scolasticos*), again probably shows a word then in use at Eton, now confined to Winchester. *Minervales feriæ* is mighty fine for a holiday. But we expect fine Latin from one who says: "Latin speche is almost marred by proude folis presumynge to teche or ever they lerne," and who nicely distinguishes "he is a profound grammarian" (*gramaticus est; vel literatus*) from "he is a smaterar of gramar" (*gramatista est; vel literator*).

When we turn to *De exercitamentis et ludis* we wonder whether "It is the custome that every yere we shal have a May Kynge" refers to Winchester, where the "Bochers' *Somer kyng*" danced before the boys. Before the days of Nicholas Udal there were plays. "I delyte to see enterludis" (*me juvat spectare ludicra*); "I will have made five stages or bouthis in this pleye" (*Jubeo fieri 5 scenas in hos ludos*), almost looks as if Horman had dabbled in plays himself.

"I have left my boke in the tennys playe" (*pilatorio*); "Thou playest featly at the tynis and very quyverly" (*agillime*), show the game most in vogue. "He hit me in the yie with a tenys-balle" (*Pila trigonali mihi oculum violavit*), would be a good subject for a vulgus for the unfortunate modern Wykehamist whose eye the Harrow boy violated, in the final tie of the Public

School Racquets in 1897, and thereby secured victory to his side. "He is a royal coyster" (*Est egregius discobolus*), and "We wyll playe with a ball full of wynde," tell us that quoits and football were not neglected. One wonders who the naughty boy was of whom it was said, "He is at bate with his mother," and who had to obey the command, "Ye shall eate Parmesan chese."

An interesting thing about this book is that the contract for its being printed by R. Pynson, June 28, 1519, is preserved, and has been printed by Dr. Furnivall in the Philological Society's *Transactions*. No less than "800 hole and perfytt books of suche Vulgars as be contenide in the copy" were to be printed at the price of "for every hole reme, 5s." 40s. was paid down; and "full for 500" was to be paid on delivery of 800, and that day twelvemonth payment was to be made for "the three resydue hundred." The *Vulgars* tells us there were "4 or 5 and 20 sheets in queyre; 20 queyres in a reme; tho' the old way was other." There were eighty-two sheets in the book, which works out at £32. 15s., equal to £655 to-day. So that printing is, as might be expected, relatively much cheaper now than then.

Another Wykehamical Head-master of Eton has a greater, but not, it is to be feared, a more reputable fame. This was Nicholas Udal, the author of the earliest English comedy. He was admitted to Winchester in 1517, appearing as Owdall, and was "taken in, not elected" a scholar of Corpus in 1520. The work that preserved his name, *Roister Doister*, was written, it is thought, before

1532. (Shakespeare Society, 1853.) It is, it must be confessed, not an exhilarating performance, and shows that our ancestors were very easily amused. The characters, who are called by such eponymous titles as Matthew Merygreke, Gawyn Goodluck, Tristram Trusty, Tib Talk-a-pace, and so forth, are mere puppets, and the plot is beneath contempt. The cleverest thing in the play, a letter, written by a scrivener, for the hero to declare his love to the heroine, but, through misplacing of stops, read so as to insult her, is of the same kind of joke as the old saying: "King Charles I. walked and talked half-an-hour after his head was cut off." In another field of literature Udal acquired considerable fame by his "Flowers of Latin Speech," selections from Terence. As a Head-master, he was of the *Orbilinus* kind, according to the oft-quoted lines of Thomas Tusser, who had fifty-three strokes at once from him.

Udal's career as Head-master was cut short by his appearance before the Privy Council in March 154½ with two of the scholars of Eton—one, Thomas Cheney, being very well connected—on a charge of stealing the college plate. The plate, however, seems to have been certain "images of silver," and the theft, whatever it was, may have been rather a religious outbreak than stealing for gain, as it is said that Udal was kept back from taking his degree for some years on account of his Lutheran tenets. Being before the Council, he was also accused of, and confessed a much more heinous crime in connection with Thomas Cheney and William

Hoorde, and committed to prison in the Marshalsea, while Cheney's father and Hoorde's uncle had to enter into recognisances for them to come up when called upon. (*Acts of Privy Council*, vii. 152-3, 155, 158.)

It is curious that the same day a London goldsmith, William Calawey, was examined for buying plate "stolen from the Newe College at Oxford," and committed to the custody of the sheriffs.

Of Udal's guilt of the graver charge there can be no doubt, as a letter of his to some great man unknown, who had failed to procure his restitution to Eton, excuses his misdoings on the plea of youth, and asks for another chance. It seems highly probable that the person addressed was Sir Thomas Cheney, Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports and Treasurer of the Household, and that it was his influence in the interests of his relative, young Cheney, that led to the charge not being further pressed.

Even after Udal had purged his contempt, by publishing his *Apophthegms* and *Translation of Erasmus' Paraphrase of the Bible*, it seems odd to our ideas that he should have been appointed by the Crown, under Edward VI., a Canon of Windsor, and, under Mary, Rector of Calbourne. Odder still that in 1553 he should have succeeded the highly respectable, but Protestant, Alexander Nowell, as Head-master of Westminster. Probably Udal's dramatic skill procured him the latter appointment, as he was the author and conductor of City pageants on the coronation of the Protestant Queen

Anne in 1533, and fulfilled the same function on the coronation of the Catholic Queen Mary in 1553. He also wrote and arranged some Interludes at Mary's Court the same year. He did not hold the Head-mastership of Westminster long, however, as Mary suppressed Westminster College and its school, and restored her monks in 1556, and in that year Udal died.

XIX

WINCHESTER AND THE DISSOLUTION

WELL was it for Warham that he died when he did. He had the satisfaction, if satisfaction it was, of seeing the great Cardinal Wolsey, who had displaced him alike as First Minister of the Crown and Head of the Church, deprived both of his Chancellorship and his Legateship, and, stripped of his episcopal pluralities, fall hopelessly and helplessly. In his old age Warham was again offered the Chancellorship, but wisely declined. He afterwards took up with that absurd impostor, Elizabeth Barton, a servant girl, who had fits and visions, and was called, and is apparently regarded by her latest admirer, Father Gasquet, as the "Holy Maid of Kent;" and it is not at all improbable that he might have ended his days on the scaffold with Fisher of Rochester, if his days had been prolonged. Warham, in his younger days, we may be sure, would not have been taken in by such a silly and superstitious fraud any more than Sir Thomas More was.

The first Head-masters of the sixteenth century were Edward More, 1508-17; Thomas Erlisman, 1517-26; John Twychener, 1526-31; Richard Twychener, 1531-1535. Edward More became Warden, and was the giver

of Election Cup. Erlisman's reign was enviably distinguished by being the first under which the whole School cleared out for the holidays, viz., in September 1518. It did so again in 1522 (*Annals*, p. 229).

Mr. Kirby records Richard Twychener as being Master till 1537. But an important State document, to say nothing of a College document, the Bursars' Roll, shows this to be wrong, and raises some suspicion as to the other dates given for Head-masters, which have not been verified.

In 1534, Henry VIII. was declared by Act of Parliament Supreme Head of the Church of England *vice* the Pope, who was declared by the full Convocations of York and Canterbury to have no greater jurisdiction in England than any other foreign Bishop. Parliament therefore annexed to the Crown the First-fruits, or profits for the first year of every ecclesiastical benefice; and Tenths, or ten per cent. of the annual value of the same which the Pope had hitherto exacted from the clergy. This was not the first time such a thing had been done. In 1289 the Pope had granted these tenths to Edward I. for several years, when he proposed to go on a Crusade. To ascertain what the Crown was to receive, that grant had been followed by a valuation of all the ecclesiastical benefices of the country, and that valuation, known as "Pope Nicholas' Taxation," is the source of a large part of our early ecclesiastical history. The new and permanent grant of the Tenths, or Annates as they were sometimes called, was likewise followed by a new valuation, which

is known as the "*Valor Ecclesiasticus*," and has become an indispensable document for the historian and antiquary, giving, as it does, a complete financial review of all religious institutions just before the great change. It is sometimes represented to have been made merely with a view to the plunder and dissolution of the monasteries. But there is not the least ground for such a representation, as it applied to every bishopric, college, rectory and vicarage as well, and the idea of plundering or dissolving them had never entered anybody's head. Indeed the execution of the Act was suspended for a time to enable the Pope to come to terms with Henry.

As he did not, in January 1535, Commissions began to issue for taking the valuation. The instructions given to the Commissioners show the scope of the Act. They are headed

Instructions . . . for knowledge to be had of all the possessions . . . as well spiritual as temporal appertaining to any manner of dignity, monastery, priory, church collegiate, church conventual, parsonage, vicarage, chantry, free chapel, or other dignity, office, or promotion spiritual within this realm.

In the body of the document "college" and "collegiate church" are used as synonymous.

Its inclusion settles beyond dispute what, indeed, was indisputable, that Winchester, like the Universities and Colleges therein, was a "spiritual," that is, an ecclesiastical foundation. Mr. Kirby speaks (*Annals*, p. 14) of the vicarage of Downton having been erected because, when the

living was given to the College, the profits of the benefice were appropriated to "secular purposes," and attributes (p. 26, *note*) the charter exempting the College from the exactions of the royal Purveyors to the fact that "the College was not, legally speaking, an ecclesiastical corporation." This is a complete misconception. How could the frequent visitations, recorded in the *Annals*, by the Bishops of Winchester as ordinaries, or by the Archbishops *sede vacante*, have taken place if the College were not an ecclesiastical foundation? How could the scholars be clerks if they were not ecclesiastics? All schools and colleges were ecclesiastical institutions, enjoyed ecclesiastical privileges, were under ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and subject to ecclesiastical law and no other. A convenient decision of the King's Bench in the reign of James I. held that the Colleges at Oxford consisted of spiritual persons, but were not spiritual foundations, and therefore within the jurisdiction of the lay Courts. That decision was good policy, but bad law, and worse history.

Winchester appears in the *Valor*, vol. ii. p. 4, as follows (the original is in Latin):—

| COLLEGE OF THE BLESSED MARY BY WINCHESTER, | | | |
|--|------|----|----|
| Is worth in the rent of lands, with all other returns, | | | |
| as well spiritual as temporal, as appears by a | | | |
| book (<i>quaternum</i>), signed by the hands of the | | | |
| Commissioners | £710 | 8 | 0 |
| Reprises in alms, fees, and other payments, as appears | | | |
| by the said book | 81 | 14 | 6 |
| <hr/> | | | |
| And so is worth net | £628 | 13 | 6 |
| Tenth thence | 62 | 17 | 4½ |

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| | |
|--|----------|
| Edward More, now Warden of the said College, and has of the goods of the College, and the rents aforesaid yearly | £22 18 8 |
| Wm. Pyle, Jn. Hasard, Jn. Harvey, T. Basset, Jn. Chubbe, Edmund Keyt, T. Brownyng, Rt. Stevyns, Wm. Baker, Jn. Rytte, Fellows. These yearly take for dividends from the aforesaid rents . . . | 74 4 2 |
| John White, layman, Master (<i>pedagogus</i>) of the boys, receives yearly from the rents aforesaid . . . | 11 18 5 |
| Richard Sedgrave, Under-master (<i>sub-pedagogus</i>) . . . | 4 9 4½ |
| Richard Philippes, Chantry Priest (<i>cantarista</i>), in the said College of the foundation of Jn. Fromond, takes yearly from the rents aforesaid . . . | 6 13 4 |

The Commissioners did their work quickly. The Commission for Hampshire was issued on February 1, 1535, and by May 2 the return was finished and sent in. The College took exception to the valuation for two reasons, stated in a letter from Bishop Gardiner, the head of the Commission (Strype, *Ecclesiastical Memorials*, vol. i. pt. i. 328). First, they objected to being charged at all in regard to the Chapel of the Holy Ghost in the Isle of Wight, or other places where

Chantries be not perpetually assigned to any spiritual man ; where there groweth no profit to the incumbent by any special revenue, and that he may be removed at pleasure.

Secondly—

Considering the act maketh mention of all alms to be allowed, given by foundation, therefore finding of poor children in the New College beside Winchester ought also to be deducted : being their portion so little that it cannot be less.

Gardiner observes on this—

fish
The title of almes; although in our judgment we understand it, and have made allocations thereafter, in the finding and nourishing of old and impotent and lame men; yet we have not so deemed it in the finding of young children to school. We used herein a distinction of finding, which in poor and impotent men is without other shift necessary to live by. But in children no such necessity to find them to school.

There he spoke like the reactionary he soon became. The "children" in the return were treated as a *quantité négligeable*, and not even mentioned.

As we shall have occasion to refer to the book again, it is worthy of note that in Canon Dixon's *History of the Church of England*, vol. i. p. 248, the articles of objection directed against the Commissioners' findings by the College, and others, are treated as if they were made by Gardiner, whereas Gardiner was the Chief Commissioner, the objections are made to his decision, and he himself answered them.

There is, in fact, every reason to believe that the valuation, which was made by the parties to be charged to a Commission of which the Bishop was everywhere the head and the returning officer, erred, if at all, on the side of undervalue. Certainly, it must have been so with the College; for at the closer scrutiny which took place twelve years afterwards, the income was returned at no less than £250 more, and the Warden's income at £101 instead of £22.

Even in the *Valor* the revenues of the College exceed those of every other ecclesiastical foundation in the county, except the Cathedral Monastery, which had £1762 a year gross, and Hyde Abbey, £993 gross. The next richest were Christ Church, Twyneham, with £543 a year, Romsey, £528, and Bewley, £428. Southwick had some £323, Tichfield, £289. St. Cross Hospital came next with £251. St. Elizabeth's College had £120 only. The Warden, individually, was not by any means relatively so great an ecclesiastic as he afterwards became. His £22 a year was less than the income of the Sub-Prior of the Cathedral, who had £25, while the Archdeaconry of Winchester, held by William Bolen, a relation of the Queen's, was worth £67, and the Mastership of St. Cross, £84. But what were their incomes compared with that of the Abbot of Hyde, who had a clear £525 a year, or with the Prior of St. Swithun's £1055? The Bishop had the astounding income of £4192 gross, and £3885 clear. No wonder he told Cromwell in his letter that the return showed he had a good living. Even the reckoning of £75,000 a year, or twenty times the value (which is certainly under the mark), does not give an idea now-a-days of the relative riches of this representative of the two greatest apostles, the fisherman and the tent-maker.

There are many interesting points about this return. It gives us a Fellow, Robert Stevyns, not to be found in Mr. Kirby's list, and shows that another, William

Baker, said to have been admitted on September 25, 1537, was one two years before; while the statement that Fromond's chantry priest was always a Fellow is contradicted by the record, as Richard Phillips, though a scholar in 1491, is not in Mr. Kirby's list of Fellows. Being also rector of "Kyngesgate," the little church of "St. Swithun above the Gate," worth £6. 6s. 9d., he was twice as well off as a Fellow.

The *Valor* also puts us on the right date of White's headmastership, viz., 1535, not 1537, as in the *Annals*, p. xii. and 246, and *Scholars*, p. 120, nor 1534 as in *Scholars*, p. 111. The Bursars' Roll, 26 & 27 Henry VIII., gives almost the exact day, as in that year Richard Twychener received £5. 2s. as "Informator," while J. White received "Informator's" pay for a term and twelve weeks. The financial year began on the Saturday nearest Michaelmas Day, so that White succeeded on or about April 20, 1535.

One of the most interesting points disclosed by this return, is that the Head-master was a layman. At the Cathedral Grammar School of St. Peter's, York, three Head-masters in succession, from 1429-72, lived and died laymen, and were also married men, as appears from their wills and epitaphs.

It is highly probable that White's immediate predecessors and successors as Head-masters were laymen also. Nor would it be surprising that they should be so, as they were for the most part very young men. White was twenty-eight on his accession; his predecessor,

Richard Twychener, only twenty-five; and his brother and predecessor, John, only twenty-four. Erlisman was thirty-four, but then he had been Head-master of Eton first, for some six or seven years. In regard to many of the score of Obits held in chapel, the Head-master was to get 1s. if a priest, because then his services were more valuable; 8d. if not a priest, showing that it was by no means unusual for him not to be one. After the Reformation the famous Christopher Johnson was not only a layman, but retired from office to practise as a London physician. Perhaps the Wardens, though they had to be "in holy orders, and as soon as possible ordained priests," shared the sentiments of the people of Bridgenorth, who in 1525 ordered that—"There shall no priest teach no school after a schoolmaster cometh to town, on pain of forfeiting to the chamber of the town 20s. of every priest that doeth the contrary," or of the founder of Sevenoaks Grammar School, who, as early as 1432, prescribed that the master should "by no manner of means (*minime*) be in holy orders."

Dean Colet, at St. Paul's, prescribed that the High Master was to be a layman, "a wedded man or a single man, or a priest that hath no benefice with cure," and appointed a layman. At Manchester, in 1525, the Head-master was to be "a single man, priest or not priest," while the reforming Archbishop Holgate, in 1547, founded three schools in Yorkshire, and in each case provided that the Master might be a layman and married.

The practice of limiting the choice of a head-master to a narrow minority, alike of the teaching profession at large as of the particular public school, has no more warrant in antiquity and the example of our elders, whether Catholic or Protestant, than in common sense.

It is curious, by the way, to note that the Usher, Richard Sedgrove, a Scholar in 1518, was older than either the Head-master or his predecessor, but he was only thirty. The College, in Mr. John White's first year of office, had to undergo three distinct and different visitations. The first was by Master Dr. Cox as Commissary of the Archbishop of Canterbury, in virtue of his provincial supremacy as Primate of all England, which had nothing to do with the See of Winchester being full (as *Annals*, p. 244, where it is put under the year 1536). This cost £5. 4s. 8d. The next, the ordinary visitation by the Warden and Posers of New College, with Dr. London as Warden, cost £7. 7s. 9d.; while the last, of Dr. Lee, "Commissioner of Master Thomas Cromwell, coming with the same Master Thomas Cromwell, General Visitor of the Lord the King," was the least expensive, costing only £3. This is a valuable historical entry. It has been represented by Father Gasquet (*Suppression of the Monasteries*), that the visitation was directed only against the monasteries or the universities, which Gasquet represents as "regarded as monastic institutions," and as mainly for the purport of laying excessive contributions. It was, in fact, simply

a visitation to assert the King's supremacy, modelled on the visitations made by Archbishop Warham and others as Papal Legates. The only present given even to so great a man as Cromwell, the "King's Vicar-General in Spirituals," was an old silver salt-cellar, mended up at the cost of 5s. 10d.; a gift of no greater value than was habitually given to Judges of Assize and other "great ones."

The King came to Wolvesey at the same time, and was presented with "two oxen, ten sheep, and twelve capons for his favour in matters concerning the College," at a cost of £6. 7s. 4d. Had this favour, one wonders, anything to do with the special Act of Parliament passed in 1536, which exempted the Universities and their Colleges, and Winchester and Eton, from the payment of the tenths to ascertain which the *Valor* was made? This Act (27 Henry VIII. c. 42) was entitled "An Acte concernyng the exoneracyon of Oxford and Cambryg from payment of there fyrst frutes and tenths." The reason for it is stated to be that Henry,

With the fervent zeal his Majestie hath conceyvid and bearith . . . to th'increase of the knowledge in the 7 liberall sciences and the 3 tonges of Laten, Greeke, and Hebrewe to be by his people applied and larned, Consideryd that if his Highnes shulde use his right in his Universities of Oxforde and Cambridge, or in the College of our Ladye of Eton besydes Wyndesore, or Saynt Marie College of Wynchestre besides Wynchestre, where youth and good wyttys be educate and nouryshed in vertue and larnyng . . .

the same should percaas discourage mannye of his subjectes, whiche be both apte and wyllyng to applye theymselves to larnyng, and cause theym, by reason of the tenuytie of lyvyng, to withdrawe and gyve their mindes to suche other thynges and fantacies as shulde neyther be acceptable to God nor profittable for his publique welthe.

In consideration of the remission, each College at the Universities was to maintain a public lecturer in such science or tongue as the King should appoint, while the Chancellor of the University, the Provost of Eton, and the Warden of Winchester were each to maintain

“two masses to be there solempnely sung, whereof one shall be of Holye Trynyte the 8 day of Maye, and the other of th’olye Gooste the 8 day of October, for the presarvacion of the Kynges Highnesse and the mooste excellent Prynces, Quene Anne his wyfe, and the right noble Princes Elizabeth, daughter of our said Soveraiyne Lorde and of the said Quene Anne, during their lyves; and after the decease of our said Sovereiyne Lord” two anniversaries “with dyrige over night and mass of requiem in the next morrowe” of those days.

This coupling of Eton and Winchester with the Universities, as if they were part of them, had a most important effect, and was the means of saving them from destruction in the general dissolution of colleges.

The dissolution of monasteries which began that year could not in any case have been long delayed. Wykeham and Chicheley had dissolved monasteries by purchase to apply them to the purposes of the secular clergy

and of general education, then an ecclesiastical purpose. Waynflete, Wolsey, Fox and "Saint" Bishop Fisher, as by papal authority he is now officially designated, armed with Papal bulls, on the ground of uselessness or irregularity, confiscated monasteries without payment for the like public purposes. If Henry VIII., Cromwell and Cranmer, in their struggle with the foreign power of the Pope, found the monasteries the chief strongholds of that foreign power, it was not a very novel or a very alarming advance on previous precedents to confiscate them wholesale for general public purposes. Without any Anne Boleyn, it was done in Germany before, and Scotland after, Henry VIII., and has since been done in every civilised country in Europe, Catholic and Protestant alike, except Spain. It does not, therefore, put the monasteries in any better position to prove, or rather attempt to prove, as a certain school of historians does, that those who took part in their dissolution were the worst of mankind, actuated by the lowest motives, and acting in the vilest way. When it is found that the very men thus attacked were among the leaders of the clergy, the attack, if well founded, could only recoil on those who favour the system under which they were brought up and came into prominence.

In truth, the attacks are made up largely of hearsay calumnies and personal imputations made, many of them, long after the event, aggravated by *suppressio veri*, and envenomed by *suggestio falsi*.

It is with pride and not with shame that we recognise

two of the most prominent of the monastic visitors, who took part in the dissolution of the monasteries, as Wykehamists. One of them, Dr. London, had been domestic chaplain of the "saintly" and "venerable" Warham, and was Warden of New College, and Dean of the ancient college of Wallingford. Another, perhaps the first in the field, was Dr. Bedyll, who was Secretary to the same Archbishop, Archdeacon of London, and Clerk of the Council. Both of them, in the usual way, were Canons of divers cathedrals.

London was a person who, in doctrine, was high Tory, that is, a sound Roman Catholic on the Mass, though like Gardiner and many more, an Anti-papalist and Anti-monachist. He is mentioned as persecuting Frith, one of Wolsey's young men, introduced to Cardinal College from Cambridge, and his followers on a charge of heresy.

In this persecution London is said to have been the occasion of a rather good bad joke. A fellow of New College, Quinby, was imprisoned by him, says Strype, "very straitly in the Steeple of the College; and half starved with cold, and lack of food. . . . He was asked of his friend, what he would eat?" which seems hardly consistent with being starved:—

Who said his stomach was gone from all meat except it was a Warden pie. "Ye shall have it," quoth they. "I would have," said he again, "but two Wardens baked; I mean our Warden of Oxford, and our Warden of Winchester, London and More. For such a Warden pie might do me and Christ's

Church good, whereas other Wardens of the tree could do me no good at all." Thus he turned his face to the wall . . . and slept sweetly in the Lord.

The story, if the New College Registers are to be trusted, is certainly not true, as told. For Anthony Quinby, the only Wykehamist of that name, was only admitted in 1547, some years after London's death, did not become a Fellow of New College till 1553, and remained one till 1559.

Assuming, however, that London was a persecutor of Lutherans in 1526, there was not the least inconsistency in his acting in 1538 as a visitor to take surrenders of monasteries. It is admitted by Father Gasquet (i. 458) that "his letters do not reveal any particular animosity against the monks." London reports generally that he finds many of them "young, lusty men, always fat fed," by no means "learned, or apt to the same"—which is just what Wykeham and Warham found. "But, beyond these general accusations, though evidently not biassed in favour of the religious, he does not appear to have gone." The reverend Father thinks it was very terrible to "deface the (Friars') church at Reading, all the windows being full of friars," and so forth. But, as the Dissolution had taken place, the destruction was inevitable, and the merest prudence dictated the destruction of the nests lest the rooks should return. At the Grey Friars, at Stamford, Gasquet himself notes that London was much struck by the image of Blanche of Lancaster, John of Gaunt's wife, and writes: "It is

very beautiful, and I resolved to know of the King's grace concerning it." The King's grace was not so well educated as our Wykehamist, and his ancestress went the way of the rest. But the incident is to London's credit. He did his destruction with due regard to works of art.

The main attack on him is in relation to Godstow nunnery. The abbess complained that he "doth threaten me and my sisters, saying he hath the King's commission to suppress the house, spite of my teeth." She showed her teeth in abusive letters to Cromwell, who, says Gasquet, "for some reason or other, ordered Dr. London not to proceed any further in the matter." The very same book which gives the abbess' abusive letter, shows that all the time London was writing to Cromwell himself, to intercede with him on the abbess' behalf, which was doubtless the reason why he was told to proceed no farther in the matter. Amongst other things, the abbess wrote: "He (London) begins to entreat me, and to inveigle my sisters, one by one." Father Gasquet converts this into a suggestion that he was trying to seduce them! He seeks to back this up (i. 465) by repeating a story that London had afterwards to do "open penance at Oxford, with two smocks on his shoulders, for Mrs. Thykhed and Mrs. Jennings, the mother and the daughter." But the story is only one of Strype's, taken from Archdeacon South, writing years after the event.

London suffers from having been attacked on both

sides; for though he joined in the destruction of the monasteries, he was an Anti-Protestant. When Henry was in a fit of reaction after Cromwell's fall, and the "Six Articles" were in force, London, as Canon of Windsor, assisted a lawyer there in indicting "those that favoured or professed the Gospel, and in sending them to court to Winchester" (*i.e.*, Gardiner—a hero to Gasquet and Dixon), but the two "were in the end found to be perjured," and "appointed to ride through Windsor, Reading, and Newbury," their faces to the tails of the horses, and to stand in the pillory. This done, they were committed to the Fleet, where London died miserably, in 1543. But when the account, taken from Strype (*Eccl. Mem.*, i. 175), comes to be examined, what was the "perjury"? It was not, as certainly the reader would suppose, a false accusation made upon oath, but a denial before the Privy Council that they themselves were guilty of conspiracy in making the accusation! They were certainly guilty of persecution, and of uniting to persecute, but so was every one on either side, who took, as nearly everybody did, any part in such proceedings.

The evidence on which London is pronounced "infamous" will not stand examination.

Another Wykehamist monastic visitor, Betyl or Bedell, has been attacked with even less reason. He must have been a man of good manners, as he was one of two sent to persuade Katharine of Aragon to give up the title of Queen. As Clerk of the Council, he

took part in endeavouring to persuade the monks of the Charter House and the friars of Richmond to acknowledge the royal supremacy to save their necks. He certainly did his best, and saved many, and interceded, though in vain, for more, notably for the Prior of the Charter House.

My Lord (he wrote to Cromwell), I desire you in the name of charity, and none otherwise, to be good lord to the Prior of the said Charter House, who is as good a man as ever was in that habit, or else I am much deceived, and is one who never offended the King's grace by disobedience to his laws. . . . I beseech you that the said Prior may be so treated by your help that he be not sorry, and repent that he hath feared and followed your sore words and my gentle exhortation made unto him to surrender his said house.

No direct attack is made on him by Canon Dixon, whose method of aspersion consists rather in insinuation, and "a nice derangement of epitaphs." He calls him "the adventurous Bedyll" in one place, "the zealous Bedyll" when he visits the Charter House in another (i. 275). Apropos of Bishop Fisher's trial, he says "he was examined by three active members of the Council, Bedyll" and others, and so forth. The idea sought to be conveyed is that Bedyll was "active" from his own malice against those people; whereas, as Clerk of the Council, he was merely doing his business, and, as already shown, he did it with kindness. Gasquet goes further. He insinuates (ii. 396) that Bedyll had made a fortune out of plunder of the monasteries on his own account, and dishonestly.

An interesting example of the private purses made by the Commissioners is afforded in the case of Thomas Bedyl. He died, apparently, early in September 1537, and long before he had such opportunities of obtaining plunder as others had. Still he had apparently not neglected his chances.

The whole foundation for this allegation is that Bedyl had deposited some plate and gold with a book-seller in St. Paul's Churchyard. There is not the smallest evidence that it had been taken from monasteries, or, if it was, that it had been concealed. A leading ecclesiastical lawyer, counsel for the Crown in the case against Queen Katharine, Clerk of the Council, Archdeacon, and several times a Canon, could hardly fail to have acquired riches, any more than Wykeham himself, and plate and money were the only form in which riches could be held.

There is then nothing against Bedyl. On the contrary, he seems to have done his duty, in a difficult position and in troublous times, in a particularly gentlemanly manner; free, for the most part, from the virulent and outrageous language of the day, in which even Cranmer, gentlest of men, sometimes, and the "blessed" Sir Thomas More habitually, indulged. He, too, showed an educated taste in antiquities. He writes with delight to Cromwell, from Ramsey Abbey, where he had found a very ancient Saxon charter, which he took the trouble to decipher and transcribe: "I am sure you would delight to see the same, for the strangeness and antiquity thereof."

This excellent Thomas, as he came from Winchester was no doubt a relation, perhaps a son, of John Bedell, the scholar in 1440, Mayor of Winchester, already mentioned.

One would like to believe that the story told of Quinby and the Warden pies was true of some Wykehamist, if not of Quinby. We hear of other gallant Protestant Wykehamists in those days. Foxe tells of one, John Loud, tutor to Sir Richard Southwell, who said of him, "He will make my boy like himself, too good a Latinist and too great a heretic." He saw gentle Anne Ascue's burning in 1545, and the sight so moved him that he rushed to the Privy Council and said, in a loud voice—

"I ask vengeance on you all that do thus burn a member of Christ"; whereat one struck at him with all his might, but he escaped.

The story of William Ford, the Usher, and the "images" has been often told. It is taken from Strype's *Eccl. Mem.*, III., i., vol. v. p. 278, ed. 1821. Ford had been "converted" by John Loud, and became "a great enemy to Papism in Oxford, being there Fellow and civilian, and afterwards Usher under Mr. John White, Schoolmaster in that College." He tied a cord to all the "golden images" in chapel, presumably the Crucifix, Virgin, and St. John on the Rood screen, and pulled them down with a crash in the middle of the night, his chamber being "over against" the chapel door. On

search being made, the suspect was found in bed. "This was about 1535 or 1536." "Mr. Ford afterwards led a dog's life among them ('I use,' says Strype, 'the words of my manuscript'), Mr. White, the Schoolmaster, the Fellows of the house, and the scholars, crying out and railing at him by supportation of their Master. Lewd men lay in wait for him many times." At last they caught him one night by King's Gate and "laid on with staves," but "he clapped his gown collar, furred with fox fur, about his head and neck" and so was saved, though left for dead. Thence he rolled to College Gate.

As is observed in Adams' *Wykehamica* (p. 73), the geography does not fit the story, as the Usher's Chamber was on the opposite side of Chamber Court to Chapel. He might have added that as the Usher shared the Master's Chamber, it is difficult to see how he could do the trick without detection. The date, at all events, is wrong, as Sedgrave was Usher in 1535, and no Ford appears as Usher during White's Head-mastership. Mr. Ford, we are told, in "Mary's dismal days," lived at Welbeck with Mr. R. Whalley, and seeing, at Sir George Pierpoint's, Mass performed with torch-bearing in full daylight, felt inclined to commit suicide. This incident Mr. Adams has represented as if the desire to commit suicide was mere religious mania, and thereon calls him a "bitter fanatic." The story, however, goes on to say that he was comforted by a letter from his old friend Loud, and was eventually made Master of

Newbury Grammar School and Rector of the parish, and died happily in better times.

The story of the images being so vague, we can hardly accept it as very good evidence of the feeling in College towards the Reformation, though, as White afterwards became Warden, and under Mary, Bishop of Lincoln and Winchester, we may perhaps assume that his influence at all events was against reform. Yet, except Hyde, who became Head-master, and on Elizabeth's accession fled with other Papists, and Nicholas Saunders, afterwards Papal Nuncio in Ireland, who came in White's last year, 1540, and therefore could not have been much under his influence, there do not seem to have been any of his pupils who remained Romanists. It is quite probable that White's Romanism only developed under Mary.

In the last years of Henry VIII. the history of the College narrowly escaped being brought to an abrupt conclusion. Colleges, hospitals, and chantries were included in the Act of 1539, which confirmed the suppression of the larger monasteries already made or to be made. Under this Act Chicheley's College of Higham Ferrers disappeared into the pockets of the Dacres, now Fitzwilliams; and at Winchester the Old College (Pontissara's College of St. Elizabeth) found its way by purchase into the hands of Thomas Wrythesley, knight, Lord Wrythesley. He was a Hampshire man and Steward of Winchester College. It was granted him by Letters Patent on 29th March 1543 (Patent, 35 Henry

VIII., ix., m. 33-4), in consideration of £500 and a rent of £3. 15s. for the lands, and 2s. for the site and buildings. On 14th April he paid 6s. 8d. for license to alienate to the College (Pat. l.c. xi.), and on the 18th he sold it to the College for £360, so that he got lands worth £120 a year for £140. The College covenanted that they would before Whitsuntide 1547—

transforme and make of the said late Collegiate Church, College or Chappell a Grammar School; and therein to be dayly tawght the number of persons nowe usually tawght within the said Newe College of Seynt Mary besyds Wynechester afforsead; and in that case, within the said tyme, to deface the howse of the said College of Seynt Elyzabeth, or the gret parte of the same, or else within the saide tyme to enrace, pull down, and utterly deface the said Church Collegiat.

I understand this to mean that they were to use the College as School instead of what is now Seventh Chamber. The condition shows that the original school was already over-crowded, and to use St. Elizabeth's as a school would have set free Seventh Chamber for more Commoners. It is greatly to be regretted that this step was not taken. Not only should we have had a building of perhaps the most beautiful of all styles of architecture preserved, instead of the not beautiful "Glorious Revolution" building we now enjoy; but the site and grounds of College would have received a great lateral extension, and the school would not have had its de-

velopment curtailed for a hundred years and more by lack of playing-fields. But the College either shrunk from the expense, or, as is more possible, were too fossilised in their notions to give up the old School. They preferred to pull down St. Elizabeth's, and use its stones for the extension of their old "Meads" wall, so that the new part looks much finer and more ancient than the loftier wall built by Wykeham. The alternative of total demolition was not uncommon. It was the practice at the dissolution of the monasteries to deface the buildings and take the lead off the roofs, so as to prevent the possibility of the return of the inmates.

Long before Whitsuntide, 1547, the new College itself was included in the "Act for Dissolution of the Colleges," commonly called the Chantries Act; or, as it is more exactly headed in the Chancery Rolls, "An Act for the Dissolution of Colleges, Chantries, and Free Chapels at the King's pleasure" (37 Henry VIII. c. 4). Section 6 of the Act, by including "All colleges as well chargeable as not chargeable" to First Fruits and Tenths, deliberately swept all the colleges in the universities, together with Winchester and Eton, into the net. Power was given to the King to issue commissions whenever he pleased, and take them "into the King's Highness, his heirs and successors for ever." The first thing to be done, however, was to find out what there was to take; and commissions of "survey" were, therefore, issued to every county on February 13, 1546. Hence the appearance of

Winchester College in the first series of Chantry Certificates. It is printed at full length in *English Schools at the Reformation*, Part II. p. 88. When compared with the account given in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* two years before, it would hardly seem to refer to the same institution. The gross value is raised from £700 odd to £947. The Wardenship, instead of being put at £22 odd, is represented as worth £101. 18s. 8d. The seventy "scolars" and sixteen "querysters" appear instead of being ignored, and "theyr porcion and commons" are put at £308. 4s. 8d.; the same for the ten fellows at £154. 2s. 4d. The Master and Usher, instead of being the only persons named in a dignified way with the Warden and Fellows, are lumped in with "Clerks and Conducts," and the Song School Master placed above the Grammar School Master.

For the porcion of three conductes, three clarkes, the master of the song scole, the master of the grammar scole, the usher, and other officers belongynge to the said colledge, and for ther comons, £122. 7s. 10½d.

Chantry is described as "of John Froreman's foundation," and the chantry priest's duties as to sing in the "chappell three tymes in the weke," and "in the quyer of the same college on Holy dayes."

The extra £200 a year now shown must have made the College seem a very tempting morsel. That it would not have been long spared is likely by the example of the Colleges of Plashy, Hastings, a royal

chapel; Tong, which was not saved by its Grammar School; and St. Edmund's College, Salisbury, which its title as one of the earliest of University Colleges did not preserve. These were all taken in the last few months of 1546. But in January 1547, Henry VIII. died. The powers of the Act were only for his life, and by his death the plague was stayed.

Edward VI.'s Parliament met in November 1547, and very soon passed a new Chantries Act, under which, according to the preamble, the chantries and colleges were to be converted "to good and godly uses, as in erecting of Grammar Schools," and "the further augmenting of the Universities." After such a preamble, the Colleges in the Universities could hardly be destroyed, and accordingly a special clause was put in to exempt the Colleges, hostels, and halls of the Universities and Chantries therein: the New Chapel of St. George the Martyr in the Castle of Windsor; St. Mary's College of Winchester of the foundation of Bishop Wickham; and the College of Eaton.

Mr. B. Wilson, writing the history of Sedbergh School (*Sedbergh School Register*, p. 3, Richard Jackson, Leeds, 1895), complained of the "shameful partiality" with which Winchester and Eton were specially exempted. It certainly was a strange way of improving Grammar Schools to rob them of all, or almost all, they possessed, as this Act did in the case of some 250 Grammar Schools (*English Schools at the Reformation*, p. 91). In the case of Sedbergh, founded by Roger Lupton, a

Provost of Eton, it must have seemed peculiarly hard that while his chantry at Eton, wholly superstitious, was preserved, his chantry at Sedbergh, where the priest's main duty was to teach school, was destroyed. But the partiality was not so scandalous as it seems at first sight. Winchester and Eton were not saved on their merits so much as because they were regarded as part of the Universities. Winchester was really inseparable from New College, Oxford; Eton from New College, Cambridge, as King's was sometimes called. With the University Colleges, they were exempted from subsidies in 1496, when nearly all other ecclesiastical foundations were made subject to them. With the University Colleges they were, as we have seen, exempted from tenths and first-fruits in 1536. Magdalen College School, and Wainfleet School were saved for the same reason, though without express mention, as they actually received their endowment from the College. Winchester and Eton, though nominally independent as regards estates, were really more intimately connected with the Universities than Wainfleet. The plainest statement that they were regarded as part of the Universities, is contained in a letter from the Privy Council to the Commissioners for Church goods for Hampshire in 1553 (*Annals*, 241).

Forasmuch as it is fit that New Colledge of Winchester within the same county, being a member of th'University of Oxon., should have and enjoy such liberties as the said University doth, His Majesty is pleased that the said college shall have and enjoy all their plate and other ornaments be-

longing to their church, so as they convert the same from monuments of superstition to necessary and godly uses for the maintenance of the same College.

So, too, Queen Elizabeth allowed Winchester and Eton to retain Latin services like the Universities. The Commonwealth placed Winchester under the Oxford University Commission ; and, in our day, the Oxford University Commission of 1857 made statutes for it as part of the University. It was therefore precedent, not partiality, that saved Winchester and Eton from Edward VI., "Spoiler of Schools."

The first half of the sixteenth century was not without its Wykehamical founders. Notable among them was Robert Sherborne, Scholar in 1465, Scholar of New College, 1470. He was Master of St. Cross, and has left copious signs of himself there, in painted glass in the passage from the Hall, and on the mantelpiece of the old Masters' lodgings over the Gate, among others. He became Archdeacon of Buckingham, Dean of St. Paul's, Bishop of St. David's, and in 1508 of Chichester. In that cathedral he further endowed the Choristers' School ; and founded four prebends or canonries, to be held by Wykehamists only. These were saved from the general disendowment of prebends in 1848, and are still held by Wykehamists. At Rolleston, in Staffordshire, his native place, he founded in 1520-22 a Grammar School. A splendidly illuminated copy of the Foundation is preserved in New College Library, the Warden of New College being given the nomination of the

Master; but of his rights in that respect the present Warden knows nothing. It is one of the most interesting Foundation documents of the date in existence. It is not confined to a bare legal definition of the schoolmaster's salary and method of appointment, and the government of the school (which was vested in Mr. Thomas Rolleston of that ilk and his heirs male, together with the churchwardens), but also gives the Founder's views on school methods. For instance, he directs that the Master is

to pay attention to and often ask where in men's judgment is the Grammar School of best repute for advancement of learning, what style of teaching and what authors it uses; and as far as he can to imitate those whom he understands by results are most proficient in teachings.

Sound advice, not always followed! He is particularly careful that his School should use the Winchester prayers (*preces*), which are set down in a schedule. Among other nice directions is one that the Master is to look after the boys' manners and dress as well as learning, and particularly that "their bodies are free from worms and their clothes whole." The clever boys he is to press on, so that they may act as pupil teachers (*paedagogos*) to teach small boys who may be brought to him the alphabet and first rudiments. He is to take particular care of the clever boys, while

the stupid, the lazy, and those in human judgment incapable of learning he is to sharpen as far as he can by

reading, writing, and casting accounts, lest they should seem to have come to this our school for nothing.

If the Master gets in a "bate," as Mr. Horman says, he is

to follow Plato's example, and dropping the subject which makes him angry, pass on to some other boy or another subject until he has cooled down. For the Master must set a good example, and that is a "vulgar."

Turpe est doctori cum culpa redarguit ipsum.

On the teacher the shame
When his is the blame.

And, indeed, this age has seen teachers who had far better have been asleep than teaching like maniacs.

He would have his Master remember that blindness is to be enlightened by skill, not by force, and imitate Ipocrates, the prince of doctors, with his aphorism "that we ought to lead nature whence it came."

If a boy at the beginning has grasped even one thing, he is to praise him vehemently with this or the like good saying—

*Omni bina die si discam verba sophiæ
De parvo puero clericus aptus ero.*

The English of which is—

Two words of wisdom mastered every day
Make clever clerk, and drive dull boy away.

But all those words of wisdom were thrown away. Not being able to find any land for sale near Rolleston

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for the endowment of the school, Sherborne gave £500 to the Dean and Chapter of Chichester for a perpetual rent charge of £10 a year. That is still duly paid. The result is that the School which was to take Winchester for its model is now a Public Elementary School.

XX

A DAY AT WINCHESTER SCHOOL IN 1550.

At the turn of the sixteenth century we have a contemporary picture of the everyday life of the School, which leaves little to be desired for fulness and completeness; and is a record which would of itself make the historical fortune of any school less ancient and famous. This is the celebrated poem of Christopher Johnson, published by Charles Wordsworth, late Bishop of St. Andrews, Second Master, in 1848. Of course it was left for a foreigner — a Harrovian — to make known this unique poem, as it has been left for the present Bursar, an Etonian, to write the *Annals* of the place from the College documents.

Johnson was Head-master from 1560 to 1571, when he retired to practise as a physician in London. But the poem was clearly written when he was only a boy. He says, in a preface, which Wordsworth unfortunately did not print—

Sum puer et vires tantas Natura negavit;

and the first person is often used in the poem of the boys' doings, not the Master's. According to the *Annals* he came in 1549, and went to New College in 1553. My

impression is that it was written when he was still a junior. But a year or two would make no difference. It clearly belongs to the reign of Edward VI., when the old pre-Reformation order in religion had passed away.

The poem is admirably written, in the liveliest style, yet with the most scrupulous adherence to fact, so far as can be tested by subsequent custom.

The poet first states the numbers of the community. He almost always uses *pueri* for the Scholars, which was undoubtedly a translation of the word "children," a term technically used of the Scholars even to my day, when the Warden's "child" still had duties to perform. He lends no countenance to the term "Men," which was invariably used in my time for our noble selves, who in other Schools would have been called boys or fellows or chaps. The last word was never heard, and was utterly tabooed. It was considered quite "t'other school"—the most unmitigated expression of contempt that could be used. Dr. Moberly used to be fond of translating the line in Virgil applied to Æneas' rowers—

Exercete viri et propriis consedite transtris—

"Rouse up, ye Fourth Book men, and sit on your proper benches in Chapel;" and made a point of adding, that the word "men" was an innovation, unknown to his younger days.

The eighteen Seniors, Johnson tells us, are rightly called "Prefects," and so he always calls them, so that "Præpostors," which seems to have been the official term

in the eighteenth century, and was still, in 1861, used in the formula of asking for a remedy—"The Præpostors' duty, and they would be obliged for a remedy"—must have been an innovation, which gave way again to the older term Prefect. "*Praeficio te*" has always been used in the formula for making a Prefect, which is certainly a neater word than Præpostor.

The poet carries us through the day. At 5 A.M. is First Peal. "'Get up,' shouts the Prefect," not, be it noted, the junior as in later days.

Get up they must. Clothes, stockings, and shoes are snatched up. They hurry to their class, and if the bell has done, begin the Latin Hymn half-dressed. Then chambers are turned over, hair brushed, beds made, face and hands washed; and at 5.30 Second Peal calls to Chapel. . . . Two Prefects of Chapel overlook the children to see that they do not talk, have their own books, do not recite anything wrong, and are not absent without leave.

At 6 the small bell calls to the Muses. But there are *Preces* first—*A Jove principium*—"to ask God to wipe away the clouds of ignorance." Then a Vulgus is done.

We rack our brains for a Muse which will fit the subject, each bound as tightly to his Scob (*ad cistam*) as god-like Prometheus was of old to the rock on the Caucasus.

At 9 is breakfast, preceded by grace. The Butler serves the drink, the Artopta, Bread-butler, the bread. Both consumed, Prefect of Hall calls "Down," and at

HALL.

From drawing by Mr Percy Wadham.

To face p. 268.

and write them down in a note-book. On Tuesday and Thursday, if fine, was Hills, or as the Poet puts it, "we shall visit the grateful top of St. Catherine's Hill." If the Master has given a remedy (the exigencies of verse have converted the word from *remedium* into *otia*), a gold ring is sent to the boys, which equally gives or takes away leave for Hills, or Meads, or fire in Hall—

The Prefect lifts the ring on high ; straight the "Scobs" bang. Then our Hundred-eyes (*i.e.* Argus, the Prefect of Hall) sees that due order is kept in games and sports. Rule must be observed even in our playing.

Names are called at Middle Gate, every one answering *Adsum*. Prefects standing on the right, Inferiors on the left, "lest they annoy the Warden with their chatter." Then they go to the green slopes of the lofty mountain ("with a *socius* each must go : with a *socius* return, in line"—

Incedat sociata cohors, sociata recedat—)

till the top of Hills is reached. Here they break off, but must not go beyond Trench, nor dare to sit on the ground for fear of fever. Then they play games, quoits, hand-ball, bat-ball or tennis, or foot-ball, and other games "which I will not describe." If the lazy poet had only described them, how much more valuable his poem would be ! But he probably could not even conceive a time in which, even at school, games would be regarded as

infinitely more important and interesting than anything else. As it is, we must transcribe the actual lines describing this all-important part of School life.

Hic tamen ejecto discas bene ludere disco,
Seu pila delectat palmaria, sive per auras
Sæpe repperusso pila te juvat icta bacillo,
Seu pedibus calcata tuis.

At 9 the Prefect calls *Domum*, and home they go. After dinner, back the Wykehamical bees fly to the green hill till 3 o'clock. But if it is frosty weather they have a fire in Hall instead, which Prefect of Hall sends; or if it is very hot they go to Meads.

Bloody Friday comes next, and I say bloody, because if you have sinned during the week, you will suffer cruel pain. Down on your knees, and two boys, duly summoned, will loose your braces and let down your breeches.

The poet kindly draws a veil over the rest.

Friday must indeed have been an unpleasant day, for there was no 6 o'clock supper, as Johnson tells us with a hyper-Elizabethan double pun. On that day Terence's Plays were read:—

Comoedo scena paratur;
Cocta tamen nulli est comedoni caena petenti.

This may be somewhat anachronistically translated—

The comic scene is ready to a *t*,
By the poor reader there is seen no tea.

We are told exactly what books are read, by what forms, and on which days.

The Classes were divided then, as still in my day, into Sixth, Fifth, Fourth, and Lower Fourth (*Quarta Secunda*) Books. The word "books" does not appear; but Horman had, as we have seen, translated it by *classis*, and Johnson, who no doubt knew his Horman well, followed suit.

The Time Table may be summarised thus:—

SCHOOL HOURS, 1550

- 5. Get up. Sing Latin Psalm in Chambers.
- 5-5.30. Clean Chambers, make beds, wash hands and face, brush hair.
- 5.30-6. Chapel.
- 6-9. School.
- 9. Hall. Grace. Breakfast (*jentaculum*).
- 9.30-11. Books Chambers.
- 11-12. School.
- 12. Hall. Grace. Dinner (*prandium*), during which chapter read by Bible-Clerk.
- 1-3.30. School. Verse Tasks.
- 3.30. Bevers (a beer-drinking).
- 4-5. School.
- 5. Prayers. Go *circum* in Cloisters.
- 6. Hall. Supper (*caena*, modern Tea).
- 6.30-7.45. Books Chambers.
- 7.45. *Merenda* (modern Supper).
- 8. Chapel.
- 8.15. Chambers. Bed.

The authors read are stated, and may be reduced to the following table:—

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AUTHORS READ, 1550.

| <i>Book.</i> | <i>Monday.</i> | <i>Wednesday.</i> | <i>Friday.</i> | <i>Saturday.</i> |
|--------------|--|---|--------------------|---|
| VI. | Martial. Robinson's Rhetoric. | Martial. Virgil's Æneid, or Cicero. | Homer. Terence. | Nowell's Greek Catechism. Musæus. Hesiod. Virgil. |
| V. | Martial. Cicero's Tus- culan Dis- putations. | } <i>Same as VI.</i> | | } <i>Same as VI.</i> |
| | | } <i>Same as VI.</i> | | |
| IV. | Cicero De Officiis. Ovid's Fasti. | } <i>Same as Mon- day.</i> | | } Nowell's Latin Catechism. Ovid's Tristia. |
| | | } <i>Same as Mon- day.</i> | | |
| IV.2. | Ovid's Tris- tia, or Eras- mus' Collo- quies. | } <i>Same as Mon- day.</i> | | } Ovid's Fasti. |
| | | } <i>Same as IV.</i> | | |

The authors read on Tuesday and Thursday, which were "Remedies," are not stated. There was no school on those days, and "Books-Chambers" from 10 to 12 was probably devoted either to preparation or to verse and prose tasks. There are some difficulties about the list. The attribution of Pindar to Fifth Book on Friday is derived from the line—

Audiet at Lyricum modulantem Quinta poetam.

This might, of course, mean Horace's Odes, which other wise would be neglected. But as Horman in the *Vulgaria* calls Pindar the best of poets, and Sixth Book were read-

ing a Greek poet on that day, I think Pindar was meant. There is a mysterious line about Theognis—

Et Quintæ Sermo vel Epistola docta legetur,
Carmina nec Megarus recitabit docta Theognis.

The first line certainly points to Horace's Epistles or Satires. The second, unless *nec* is, as is not unlikely, a misreading for *vel*, would appear to mean that Theognis, a gnomic Greek poet, or moralist in verse, had lately been ousted from the curriculum in favour of Horace.

Saturday's list raises doubts as to the Lower Fourth's work.

Tristibus exonerat Naso præcordia Quartæ,
Quarta secunda vetat nimium lugere, propinquans
Ni male decipiat festi lux aurea solis,
Quando domum pueri post annua festa revertunt.
Bis sex Præfecti seniori a plebe leguntur.

"Ovid loads the hearts of Fourth Book with his *Tristia*, but Lower Fourth bids them cheer up, lest the approach of Sunday may find them in a bad way." This I understand to mean that the Lower Fourth, doing the Fasti or Calendar, would be reminded that next day was Sunday, the day of rest, the red-letter day of the Calendar. The last line is, I think, wrongly punctuated, and should be taken with the line following, not the line preceding. Having finished with the authors read, the poet goes on to a new subject—

After the annual holidays, twelve Prefects are chosen from the seniors. Woe to other boys as often as they go to

Cloisters, whose oft-trod pavements now repel them. As School so Cloisters demand a Prefect, to be ready to go to the door if any stand without and knock, but the duty is taken in turns. As soon as election begins, farewell Cloisters.

To old Wykehamists the passage is interesting, as showing us that there was an *Ostiarius* or Usher, a prefect, not a master, and a real doorkeeper, in those days, as in later days. His seat was inscribed *Τῷ ἀεὶ θυρωρῷ*, and his duties were the same in 1860 as in 1550. With the substitution of class-rooms for School in 1869 the name and office disappeared. Bible-clerk continued until 1880, School being still occasionally used as such.

The general practice of doing lessons in Cloisters may remind us of Milton's wish in *Il Penseroso*—

And may my due feet never fail
To walk the *studious* cloisters' pale.

So persistent are names that the summer term is still called Cloister time, though no one has done lessons in Cloisters for more than a hundred years, probably not since School was built in 1687.

Having finished the day, and landed the boys in bed, our poet gives no more details, though he whets our curiosity only to baulk it by such questions as, "What am I to say, Cleopatra, of your noble kitchen?" We should like to know more of the good lady—or was it a male?—who rejoiced in the name of Egypt's queen of love. We resent the poet's "passing by" "the garden of Alcinous and the green isles of Tempe." Was the

Tempe of 1550 the same as that of 1863; the ditch we passed on the way to Hills, just beyond Blackbridge? We strongly object to his abstinence from water—"No hand shall be dipped in the descending stream, though Conduit has just had a new roof and pillar, *Ductus aquæ quamvis sit plumbo et poste novatus*"—and still more to his Muse's abstinence from beer: "My muse shall drink no flagons in the cellar."

While we regret that Johnson did not tell us more, we must be thankful that he has told us so much. His word-picture is characteristically like the paintings of the contemporary Dutch school, with its quaint realism and careful, yet easy, reproduction of life. Its value is the greater in that it is undoubtedly a picture which must in the main have been true of the School life one hundred and fifty years before, as it undoubtedly was of the School life three hundred years afterwards. I well remember Dr. Moberly spending an hour "up to books" telling us of life at Winchester as it was in his days; and the hours and arrangements were almost exactly the same as in Johnson's poem, particularly in the terrible interval between getting up at 5 (then 6) and breakfast at 9, and the curious relic of Catholic times in "going *circum*." The two points in which we suffer from Johnson not having written twenty or thirty years earlier, are in the lists of authors studied, and the account of Hills. That "Hills" was in existence before 1440 is certain from the fact of its imitation at Eton, where a mean eminence at Slough, called Salt Hill, a poor substitute

for our glorious St. Catharine's down, bore the name and still preserves the memory of *Montem*. An account of the march to Montem, written by Malim, Head-master at Eton in 1560, contemporary with Johnson, is given in translation in Maxwell-Lyte's *History*, p. 452. No one could have invented *de novo* such an absurd custom as walking to this wretched mound, and its existence at all proves its derivation from the parent School. At that time at Eton Montem had become a mere survival: the march-out being held only twice a year—once about the Feast of the Conversion of St. Paul, and once in September, when it took the form of a nut-gathering. The January outing had become a ceremony for the initiation of new boys, who were sprinkled with salt, and had verses full of (Attic) "salt" written about them. But its former religious significance seems to be hinted at when Malim remarks that "the devotion of Etonians gives a kind of sanctity to the spot." In these degenerate days Hills have sunk even below what Montem was at Eton in 1560—to two processions a year to preserve the right of access, and, as regards College, to certain initiatory athletic exercises for "new men."

One point on which Johnson's and the elder day seems to have been very different to the latter days is the marked absence of fagging and tunding. There is not a word to suggest that such things existed. As has been said before, Prefects' duty appears to have been to report delinquents and rebels to the master, not to punish them themselves. If the ground-ash had flourished

in these days, surely it would have been flourished in Johnson's verses, as the bibling-rod is.

In early nineteenth-century descriptions of Winchester fagging and tunding occupy the most prominent place of all. If they had existed to anything like the same extent in the sixteenth century Johnson could not have failed to mention them. The boys clearly had to make their own beds, and apparently to sweep out their own chambers. But there was not room for much fagging. Fagging is connected chiefly with games or with meals of supere rogation. Organised games hardly existed, and, seemingly, only took place on Hills. Additional meals were almost impossible when *merenda* or supper was provided by College, when the boys went to bed at eight, and no boy ever went outside Middle Gate, except to go on Hills, or by special leave.

It is also extremely probable that flogging was not nearly so frequent as afterwards. A punishment reserved for a single day in the week, and so judicially inflicted, could not have been so often inflicted as when it went on every day. Still Johnson, when Head-master, wrote of Everard, who had been Head-master, while he was a junior :—

Qui fueras, Everarde, meo sensi ipse periclo.
Ignosco. An faciet sic mea turba mihi?

What thou wast, Ever[h]ard, I well did know.
I forgive thee. Will my crowd treat me so?

XXI

SECTS AND SCHISMS

THE sermon on Sundays, which Johnson mentions, must have been an innovation, due to the Injunctions of Edward VI.'s Commissioners, for a "lecture" on that day and on holy days (Wilkins' *Concilia*, iv. 8). These Injunctions also directed that the Bible-reading in Hall should be in English—

distinctly and apertly in the midst of the Hall, above the hearth where the fire is made, both at dinner and supper.

Grace and other prayers were also to be in English, and they shall henceforth omit to sing or say "*Stella cæli*" and "*Salve Regina*," or any other such like untrue and superstitious anthems.

Thus was the Queen of Heaven deposed in her own College.

These Injunctions are remarkable for the very strong official recognition they gave to Commoners. Injunction 2 directs that—

As well all the scholars of the said College and foundation, and others coming to the same School, being able to buy the New Testament in English or Latin shall provide for the same betwixt this and Christmas coming.

Injunction 6 has the same expression with regard to the provision of Erasmus' Catechism ; while in Injunction 7, as to grace, the phrase is "scholars and children." Injunction 10 directs that—

As well the Warden or every Fellow and Conduct teaching the children shall have for his and their pains one yearly stipend of the common goods of the College, taxed by the Warden, with the assent of the more part of the Fellows : and the Schoolmaster and Usher to have the old accustomed stipend of Commensals, and the Warden, Fellow, or Conduct to require no part thereof. 11. Item, that no person in the said College have the correction of the Grammarians besides the Warden, Schoolmaster, Usher, and such Fellow or Conduct as shall control them in the Warden's absence ; and that there be no excess correction, but that the same may be mitigated by the Warden's direction.

This is a most important passage. It shows that the term "children" was not confined to the Scholars, being here used in contradistinction to the Scholars. The Injunctions suggest that there was a considerable number of Commoners attending the School, who were neither Scholars nor Commensals. They also show that the School Master and Usher were not left single-handed to deal with them. It is strange to find that not only the Fellows and Conducts used to assist in teaching, but the Warden himself. The words can hardly refer only to the lectures in religion to be given under the Injunctions ; so that it is just possible that the real origin of the Beaufort Injunction against Commoners was the Warden's desire to

share in the profits of teaching them, and the effect, to enable him to do so. Does this account for so many of the Head-masters being elected Warden?

If the Injunctions had been observed, the provision for teaching the "children" or Commoners would have been made as much a part of the foundation as the teaching of the Scholars, to the great benefit of all concerned.

There is rather striking testimony to the efficiency of Everard's teaching, in spite of his heavy hand. In the autumn of 1552 Edward VI. and his Council made a sort of progress through Surrey and Hampshire, spending the greater part of July and the whole of August there, and visiting Winchester on the 5th September. The congratulatory verses written by the boys on this occasion are preserved in the King's Library at the British Museum (12 A. xxxiii.).

No less than forty-three boys wrote copies of verses, of whom five were Commoners; at least their names do not appear in *Scholars*. The verses were in all varieties of metres, sapphics, alcaics, iambics, and other Horatian metres, as well as hexameters and elegiacs; and the general average of merit is very high. One of the cleverest is a dialogue between "A Child" and "Echo," by a small boy, Edward Tichborne, thirteen years of age, admitted only the year before. There is one very creditable copy of Greek iambics by Thomas Stapleton, who unfortunately became a canon of Winchester under Mary, turned Roman, retiring abroad at the purgation of New College in 1562, and died professor of divinity at Louvain. So

that the new learning did not, as might be expected, any more than the old, prevent a man from being given to superstitious vanities. It may be noted that Pindar is quoted in these verses. Several of the other poems give evidence of the study of Greek, one of the neatest being—

Omnibus ut vivas votum est ; vox omnibus una ;
Gallica, viva le Roy ; Græca, βιωὺ βασιλεῦ.

A good many of them refer with fervour to Edward's Protestantism, one of the Commoners, Stephen White, especially recording his joy.

Tu cardinales turgidos,
Tu nænias monasticas,
Tu ineptias Papisticas
Regno exigis Britannico.

This is the more marked in that two years afterwards, when Queen Mary was married to Philip in Winchester Cathedral, and the boys wrote congratulatory verses to her in turn (also preserved in the British Museum), the subject of religion is carefully avoided, except by one Richard Harris. He laments (18 A. lxiv.)—

Lapsa domus, ruptus murus, spoliatio Templi
Relligio extincta, exactusque ex æde sacerdos.

The fallen home, the broken wall, the Temple set to spoil,
Religion quench'd, the banished priest driven to alien soil.

When good Queen Bess came in Mr. Richard Harris did not, like a good many other Wykehamists, leave his Fellowship and seek shelter on the alien soil of Louvain or Douai, but remained snug in his rectory of Hardwick till he died.

With the accession of Mary any chance of the reforms which might have been effected by Edward's Injunctions became hopeless, and the nation was plunged once more into the seas of religious controversy. The struggle began with the assembling of the Convocation of Canterbury on 9th October 1553. Bonner sang mass at the high altar in St. Paul's. John Harpsfield, a Wykehamist, preached the Latin sermon, which in violent laudation of Mary compared her to Judith, Esther, Deborah, Mary the sister of Martha, and Mary "the mother of God," and heaped equally violent abuse on the Reformers and their measures. October the 20th was the day named by the Prolocutor for the consideration of canons to upset the Reformation. On that day the clergy were all required to sign a declaration asserting the real presence and transubstantiation. They all with one consent proceeded to do so, except six, and it is gratifying to relate that the leader of the six was John Philpot, of Winchester and New College, rector of Compton, and arch-deacon of Winchester. He began by demanding that they should argue the question first before settling it, and that the leaders of those who were opposed to the doctrines should be let out of prison to argue. A disputation was fixed for 23rd October, and crowds of people of all sorts assembled to hear it in the "Long Chapel" of St. Paul's. Philpot led the van of the defence, and undertook to prove before the Queen and Council against any six of the first learned men of the House that the sacrament of the altar, or the mass, was

no sacrament at all. He was told he was mad, was commanded to hold his tongue, was threatened with imprisonment, and subjected to many other "unseemly checks and taunts." But he stuck to his guns for the three days allowed for the disputation. Philpot's contemporary Wykehamist, Harpsfield, was one of the leading duellists on the other side. The Prolocutor ended the debate by the Queen's command, saying, "You may have the word, but we have the sword." Next April, when Harpsfield was about to take his degree of doctor, for which he had to perform a disputation, Cranmer was brought out of his prison in Bocardo to dispute against him—no mean honour to Harpsfield, but waste labour for poor Cranmer. Philpot meanwhile was sent to the King's Bench prison, while the Warden of Winchester received the reward of a reactionary as Bishop of Lincoln. As such he presided at the trial and condemnation of Cranmer at Oxford. Winchester School was handed over to reaction in the shape of Hyde, the Head-master, who after Elizabeth's advent fled over seas, mocked by Johnson in the punning lines :—

Tu quoque præceptor meus, Hyde, latentis
E re nomen habes, Numinis istud opus.

Thy name to fit thy actions, hiding Hyde,
My master once ! some god did sure provide.

Boxall succeeded White as Warden. He was made Archdeacon of Ely, and in 1556 employed as Ambassador to France on matters concerning Calais. In 1557 (*Acts*

of the Privy Council, 1556–58, p. 70), he became Secretary of State, and was endowed with a couple of Deaneries—Windsor and Peterborough. College, therefore, could not have been much troubled with his presence.

Philpot, after two years' imprisonment, without trial, for an authorised disputation in Convocation, was examined by commissioners in Newgate, whom he refused to answer, as they were laymen and not his ordinary. They told him that he was the rankest heretic in Winchester diocese; and when he complained of their rudeness to a gentleman, they set up the convenient doctrine that he was no gentleman, though the son of a knight, for that no heretic could be a gentleman. He was transferred to prison in the coal-hole of Bonner's Palace in London, and there examined and re-examined, put in the stocks, and otherwise dragooned. He had once excommunicated White at Winchester when White was Warden and he was Archdeacon. White was now a Bishop, and the offence was unpardonable. The others appear to have thought that it would be a greater triumph to make Philpot recant than to burn him, and tried every means of threats and persuasion to that end. His brother Wykehamist, Harpsfield, was set at him in private interviews, a specimen of which is preserved (Foxe's *Martyrs*, ii. p. 415):—

Harpsfield. Mr. Philpot, you and I have been acquainted these many years. We were school-fellows both in Winchester and Oxford. Wherefore, I must wish you as well to do as myself, and I pray you to think so of me.

Philpot. I thank you for your goodwill towards me. But if you be deceived, as I am sure you are, I shall desire you not to wish me deceived with you.

Harpsfield. Fy! that is your own singular opinion. I perceive you are now still that same man you were in Oxford.

Philpot. I trust you can report no notorious evil that ever you knew me by there.

Harpsfield. I can say no evil of your conversation, but I knew you to be a studious man. Marry, if you remember, when we met in disputation in Parvis, you would not lightly give over, and for that cause I speak what I have said.

Philpot. Mr. H., you know in the schools of Oxford, when we were young men, we did strive much upon vainglory. If I was then, in the time of my ignorance, earnest in my own cause, I ought now to be earnest in my Master Christ's cause and His truth.

Harpsfield. What, will you think yourself better learned than all the learned men in this realm?

An appeal to old school-days, when one of the school-fellows is determined to burn the other if he does not agree with him, is not of much avail. 'The main charge against Philpot was not doctrinal, but that he would not acknowledge the Roman Church as the Catholic Church, and the rock of Peter to be Rome. So he became, as one of his examiners told him he should become, "a stinking martyr," and furnished fuel for one of Bonner's bonfires at Smithfield on 18th December 1555; the only gentleman or man of mark among them all. For Bonner loved to rage among tinkers and tailors, and

fought shy of burning men who, like Philpot, could "spend £10 a year of their own."

We regret to find that another Wykehamist, Nicholas Harpsfield, brother of John, and Archdeacon of Canterbury, was the willing instrument of the arch-persecutor Pole. He with wise discretion got himself out of the way on Elizabeth's accession, and not content with having burned his enemies while alive, from a safe retreat at Douai, continued to revile them when dead (*Dixon. iv., 470, note*).

White, who after Gardiner's death procured his translation to Winchester by a promise, it is said, of £1000 a year to Cardinal Pole, showed more pluck. He, too, though not of such good blood as Philpot, was a gentleman. He came from Farnham, his brother was Lord Mayor of London, and he was related to Sir Thomas White, mercer, of London, the founder of a celebrated charity for loans for poor tradesmen in some four-and-twenty towns. He preached the funeral sermon on Queen Mary's death. Though one cannot admire his weeping, as he is said to have done, for her, one cannot but admire the mixture of dignity and impudence with which he praised his dead mistress.

She had left a sister to succeed her, a lady of great worth also, whom they were bound to obey, for "better is a living dog than a dead lion," and I hope she shall reign long and prosperously over us. But I must say with my text, "the dead are more to be praised than the living," for certain it is "Mary hath chosen the better part."

He was very tenderly treated for this utterance, being only commanded to keep his house, and released even from that after a "good admonition" by the Lords of the Council (*Acts*, 1558, p. 45). But he afterwards "would needs preach, which he did, seditiously in his Romish pontifical vestments," was sent to the Tower in April 1559, and eventually deprived. He found in the end that discretion was the better part of valour, "and upon acknowledgment of his misdemeanours he was set free, and died January 12, 15⁵⁸/₈, at Sir Thomas White's place in Hants" (*Strype's Annals*, i. 213).

His (copy) brass in chapel, placed there by him when Warden, is interesting as that of the last of the Catholic Wardens, robed in a magnificent cope.

James Trobylfelde, or Turbervil, another Wykehamist, who was a Marian Bishop, and deprived by Elizabeth, is worthy of note as having kept his see of Exeter unspotted from the fires of persecution.

JOHN WHITE, HEAD-MASTER, 1534-41 ; WARDEN, 1541-54.

From rubbingz of brass in Chapel

To face p. 288.

XXII

THE ELIZABETHAN ERA

WARDEN STEMPE, who succeeded Boxall, found no difficulty in conforming under Elizabeth. His uneventful term of office was marked chiefly by a quiet series of judicious investments in land. The Head-master, "hiding Hyde," slipped off abroad, and Christopher Johnson, the poet, succeeded in 1560.

We may hope that Johnson as a Head-master was a man of mildness, having regard to the way he speaks of his predecessors. He signalled his reign by composing a series of Latin couplets on each of the Wardens and Head-masters; and he is as severe on the severity of some, as he is laudatory of the gentleness of others. We have already seen what he said of Everhard, while of More, 1508–17, he says—

Qui legit hic Morum, qui non et sensit eundem,
Gaudeat, ac secum molliter esse putet.

Who reads here "More" and has not known his power,
Let him rejoice, he lived in softer hour.

While of Richard Twychener, 1531–35 (he confirms, by

the way, the true date of John White as 1535), he writes—

Te tua posteritas pro miti laudat et æquo ;
Invideo famæ jam, Twichenere, tuæ.

Thee mild and just posterity proclaim,
And I now envy, Twichener, thy fame.

Of himself he says—

Ultimus hic ego sum, sed quam bene, quam male, nolo
Dicere ; qui de me judicet, alter erit.

I am the last here, whether good or ill,
I will not say ; others must find the bill.

Others found him to be a good man and true. Richard Willes, who printed some Latin poems of his own in 1573 “at Tottell’s Library, London,” added Johnson’s *disticha* to them, and says at the end, that “the four following couplets were written by four different persons, who, though writing in places wide apart, and without seeing each other’s verses, by some divine chance each wrote on a different part of his own couplet on himself” :—

Ultimus es ratione loci, re primus, Ionson ;
Quod tu cunctaris dicere, fama refert.

Tam bene quam quisquam se gesserit ante priorum,
Tam male, posteritas ut tua pejus agat.

Judicium de te quisquis facit, hoc facit : optat,
Si docet, exemplo posse docere tuo.

Alter erit, scribis, qui de te judicet ; ille
Si bene te novit, Jonsone, tutus eris.

Johnson, though last in time, yet first in rank,
So fame will say, though you from verdict shrank.

So well, that none before you could excel;
So ill, none after you can do as well.

Whoe'er your judge, this will his judgment be,
That he, if teaching, hopes to teach like thee.

Another is to be your judge, you write;
If he has known you, Johnson, you're all right.

The year of Johnson's accession was distinguished in scholastic annals chiefly by the allowance of a Latin Prayer Book. This, in that odd parochial way of looking at things, which vitiates the history of so many places and institutions, has been represented as a special favour to Winchester College. But the Letters Patent of Elizabeth (April 6, 1560) attached to the book say, that it was issued on the petition of, and to be used by, "the colleges of either academy, Oxford and Cambridge; also, in the New College by Winchester, and Eton College." This shows that the book was due to a University movement, and that Winchester and Eton only came in, as usual, as appendages of Oxford and Cambridge.

Equally unfounded is the report that Elizabeth showed any disfavour to the College. She visited it in state once, which was all that Edward VI. or Mary did, and, as we shall see, on at least one other occasion showed her personal interest in it. The state visit was in 1570, when she was received with the customary salvo of congratulatory verses in Greek and Latin. This visit gave rise to a thrice-told tale, how, seeing the picture of the

Bibling-rod on the school walls, she asked one of the boys whether he had experienced its charms, when he replied, like Æneas to Dido in Virgil's second Æneid—

Infandum, Regina, jubes renovare dolorem.

Thou bidst me, Queen, renew a speechless grief.

Mr. Kirby deprives the Winchester scholar of his fame by saying that the story is also told at Eton, and, for aught he knows, at other schools as well. It does not appear in Maxwell-Lyte's *History of Eton*, and we have yet to learn that the *sors tertia* was depicted on the walls of other schools than Winchester, or that it took the peculiarly striking form of the Winchester Bibling-rod. Other schools have made use of the song of *Domum*, though it was undoubtedly invented at Winchester. Even if the incident did not actually happen anywhere, it was more likely to have been invented at Winchester than elsewhere, where the basis of it stares the visitor in the face.

It would not perhaps have been surprising, though there is no reason for believing it to have been the case, if Elizabeth had not regarded Winchester with any favour, for at this time a band of its former scholars, "a brood of pestilent Papists," as the phrase went, fled abroad and became the chief intellectual supporters of the Papacy. This phenomenon was probably due not to any reactionary spirit imbibed in school at Winchester, so much as to the influence of Oxford, and the rewards given to Wykehamists who recanted under Mary and

Bishop Gardiner. Their names loom large, perhaps unduly large, in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, where the authorities for the account here given are summarised. The first of the band appears to have been Thomas Harding, born at Beckington, Somerset, in 1516, educated first at Barnstaple Grammar School, and admitted at Winchester in 1528. He became chaplain to Grey, the Duke of Suffolk, the father of Lady Jane Grey; and as a Reformer, animated the "people much to prepare for persecution and never to depart from the Gospel." Edward VI., according to Strype, wrote to New College on his behalf for the Wardenship. Disappointed in this, on Mary's accession he, with his later antagonist, Bishop Jewell, conformed to Romanism. "Queen Jane," the unfortunate queen of a day, Lady Jane Grey, had the courage to upbraid him from her prison in language somewhat surprisingly forcible for the "gentle Jane."

I cannot but marvel at thee, and lament thy case, which seemed sometime to be the lively member of Christ, but now the deformed imp of the devil; sometime the beautiful temple of God, but now the stinking and filthy kennel of Satan; sometime the unspotted spouse of Christ, but now the unshameful paramour of Anti-Christ.

A canonry at Winchester, and another, coupled with the Treasurership, at Salisbury, the fat rewards of apostasy, were worth many hard words from a fallen queen. When the tide turned with Elizabeth, Harding had the grace to avoid a second reconversion by flight to Louvain.

Thence in 1564 he began a series of attacks on Jewell, who, repenting of his first yielding to Romanism, had fled from the frowns of Mary and returned to bask in the smiles of Elizabeth and become a Bishop. Jewell, in a sermon at Paul's Cross, publicly challenged any upholder of the Pope to controversy. Harding was the first to accept the challenge, and published a long *Answer to Mr. Jewell's Challenge*, which in turn produced Jewell's once famous *Apology*. The two pounded at each other in long forgotten treatises, assisted by divers other combatants on either side, for several years. Harding's tomb, it is said, may still be seen in the church of St. Gertrude, at Louvain. He was aided in his attacks by two younger Wykehamists, John Rastell and Thomas Dorman. The latter was of a good family in Buckinghamshire, who, through Harding's influence, had been admitted to Winchester from Berkhamstead in 1547. He, however, was so Roman that, though a scholar, he was not confirmed at the end of his two years' probation, as a Fellow of New College. After Mary's accession he found favour and a Fellowship at All Souls', and on Elizabeth's accession went off with Harding to Louvain.

John Rastell, admitted in 1543, became a full Fellow of New College under Edward VI., so that he must have conformed to Protestantism. Nevertheless he followed his friends abroad under Elizabeth, and was guilty of divers ponderous tomes against Jewell. Most of the other recusant Wykehamists remained secular priests, and were

great lights at Louvain and in the English College at Douai; but Rastell became a Jesuit, and died Vice-Rector of the Jesuits' College at Ingolstadt.

A greater name than any of these was that of Nicholas Sanders, son of a High Sheriff of Surrey, one of the Sanders of Sanderstead, settled there from the time of Edward II. He went to Winchester, aged ten, in 1540, and probably was of the Roman persuasion all through, for two of his sisters were Nuns of Sion. He lectured on Canon Law at Oxford, and made the Public Oration when Cardinal Pole's visitors proceeded to purge the University. On Elizabeth's accession he fled to Rome. He was suggested for a Cardinal's hat in 1559, but the Spanish influence at the Papacy and the Spanish hatred of England were too strong. Sanders became Professor of Theology at Louvain, and the writer of a work on the *Visible Monarchy of the Church* in defence of the Papacy and of the Papal Bull deposing Elizabeth. In 1579 he landed in Ireland to raise an insurrection under the Papal banner, and after two years of hiding and wandering died, nobody knows for certain how, in 1581. Sanders's *History of the English Schism* was published after his death, and is valuable as giving a history of the Reformation from the extreme Roman point of view. In 1877 it was translated into English.

Greatest writer of all was Thomas Stapleton, a Sussex man, but a scion of the great Yorkshire family of that name. As already stated, he produced the only Greek verses recorded in honour of Edward VI.'s visit to the

College in 1552. At the age of eighteen he was made a Canon of Chichester under Mary, but fled to Louvain under Elizabeth. After a period of study at Paris University he returned home, but was deprived of his prebend. Flying again, he became Canon of Douai and Professor of Divinity there and afterwards at Louvain, and was in the running for a Red Hat, which, however, he never got, being thought not a sound Spaniard. He was the author of the *Tres Thomae*, the second of the three Thomases being Becket, and the third More. It is a work still used by historians. He also produced sundry dead controversial works, which occupy the disproportionate space of two columns in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. The band found their printer in another Winchester scholar, John Fowler, who headed the list of verse-writers on Edward's visit, had a New College living, and at first conformed under Elizabeth. But he too followed to Louvain, and set up a printing-press, which produced the books of Harding, Stapleton, and the rest, and some like lucubrations of his own. Finally, they all found their *vates sacer* in John Pits, who wrote a still quoted work, *De Illustribus Angliae scriptoribus*; or, *Famous English Authors*. Pits was a somewhat remarkable accession to the band of Catholic *emigrés*, as he was not admitted to Winchester till 1571, and only became a Scholar of New College in 1578. But he was a nephew of the redoubtable Sanders, then at the height of his fame, and this family influence no doubt accounted for his going into voluntary exile before he became a full Fellow. He

died Dean and "Official," or Bishop's Chancellor, of Livedun in 1616.

A still more startling product to have issued from Winchester in Elizabeth's reign, and under the mastership of Christopher Johnson, was Henry Garnett the Jesuit, of Gunpowder Plot notoriety. His father was Master of Nottingham Grammar, now called the High, School, whence the son was admitted to Winchester in 1567. It is alleged that he was admonished by the Warden not to remove to New College on account of his immoralities at school, while the other side say that he left on becoming a Catholic. Succession to New College was, however, not a matter of course, and he may have simply missed New College because there was no vacancy. He took to the law for a couple of years, and then, accompanied by a schoolfellow, Giles Gallop (admitted 1562), betook himself first to Spain and then to Italy, where both became Jesuits. Garnett took up the dangerous office of Provincial of the Order in England in 1586, and was there, not without divers hairbreadth escapes, for close on twenty years. It is perhaps still a moot point as to how far he knew of the Gunpowder Plot except vaguely and under the seal of confession. It seems to be admitted by Roman apologists that the Plot was, more or less, revealed under the seal of confession, an admission which sheds a somewhat curious light on the utility of that practice. He was executed for complicity in the Plot, and regarded by the Romans as a martyr. Miracles were duly performed at his death. "Garnett's Straw," a portrait of

him miraculously formed by a drop of his blood falling on an ear, void of corn, used on the scaffold, became a wonder-working relic. That Winchester has not yet the honour of enrolling in him a full-blown Saint among its worthies, or at least a duly Beatified one, can probably be only explained by some politic scruples felt at headquarters in these days of Dynamitards and Anarchists.

Happily all Wykehamists, of the Elizabethan era, did not find their way to Rome, and those who did were, one may hope, only an ill-conditioned minority. A very different course was taken by Thomas Bilson, who entered Winchester in 1559, and became a Fellow of New College in 1562. His biographer, in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, says, "He is also stated by some (adds the *Athenae*) to have been a schoolmaster." We might really expect a writer in that weighty work to have taken the trouble to ascertain whether a man of the eminence which he attributes to Bilson was a schoolmaster, and of what school, especially when that school was beyond question the first of the day—Winchester. He succeeded Christopher Johnson in 1571, and held office for nine years. It is to be hoped he was not an Everhard ; but payments are recorded for some members of the College in 1579 "riding to bring back fugitive scholars," and for "riding to court about the complaints of the scholars" (*Annals*, p. 292), which certainly looks as if the kindly Johnson had been succeeded by a harsh taskmaster. Little else is known of him as Master. Yet he must have been regarded as a successful one, since, in 1581, he succeeded

Stempe as Warden. Mr. Kirby calls him the first Protestant, as well as the first married, Warden. The latter he was no doubt, but his predecessor, Stempe, was certainly a Protestant, or he would not have retained his post so long.

While Warden, Bilson was also a canon of Winchester ; and if the aforesaid biographer's estimate were correct, he achieved by far the greatest work of any Warden before or since, in his book published in 1585 (not 1593, as Kirby in *Annals*, p. 291), entitled *The True Difference between Christian Subjection and Unchristian Rebellion*, an answer to Allen and the horde of Roman Wykehamists at Douai and elsewhere. The work was imposed on Bilson, says the *Dictionary* biographer, by Elizabeth, "in view of her intended aid to Protestant Holland. . . . Historically, it is true that whilst the *True Difference* served the Queen's present purpose, it contributed more than any other to the humiliation, ruin, and death of Charles I."

One can hardly believe that a little paper shot, as Cromwell called another political work, fired sixty years before the outbreak of the Civil War, could have had quite such a stupendous effect. The book is a dialogue between "Theophilus the Christian" and "Philander the Jesuit," and the central note of it, so far from being in defence of the right of subjects to rebel if their sovereign err on matters of religion, is struck in the phrase, "Children may not chastise their parents, though faulty, much less subjects their sovereigns." It is true that in 1642 the Parliamentary leaders republished a passage

from Bilson's book, that "if a prince should go about to subject his kingdom to a foreign realm: to change the form of commonwealth from impery to tyranny . . . if the nobles and commons join together to defend their ancient and accustomed liberty, regiment and laws, they may not be accounted rebels" (Somer's *Tracts*, iv. 30). But as Bilson expressly adds they may not put the prince, even then, to death, his assertion of the doctrine that the king is not above the law could hardly have contributed much to the beheading of Charles I. The book was the counterblast of the Warden of Winchester to the blasts of Stapleton, Sanders, and the rest who defended the deposition or the death of Elizabeth in the interests of the would-be universal monarch, the Pope.

There is, from a different quarter, emphatic testimony that all Winchester men were not Papalists, and that Winchester School was still regarded as the school *par excellence*.

As in the middle of the fifteenth century Winchester was the model for the great school foundation of that day at Eton, so in the middle of the sixteenth century was it taken as the pattern for the chief foundation of that age, Westminster; and as in the fifteenth century its members went forth to guide and govern other new foundations, so they did in the sixteenth.

The vicissitudes of Westminster School and the College of St. Peter, of which it formed part, were great. Henry VIII. had first established it as a part of the Cathedral Church of secular canons, into which

he converted the Abbey. Under Edward VI. the bishopric was suppressed, and Mary suppressed the canons and the school and put back the monks. Finally, Elizabeth put the canons back, making the church collegiate, and is commonly regarded as the founder of Westminster School. In her statutes there is a great deal more about the School than there was in the statutes of the old collegiate churches, or in the statutes of Henry VIII.'s new cathedral foundations. These statutes (printed in Appendix to the *First Report of the Cathedral Commissioners*, 1854, pp. 87-102, from Patent Roll 2 Eliz., pt. i.) are evidently modelled on "the use of Winchester" as it then was. The number of scholars on the foundation, still called Queen's Scholars, was settled at forty; but there might, after the fashion of the Commoners at Winchester and Eton, be thirty-six paying scholars (*pensionarii*) boarding with the Dean, the Prebendaries, and the Masters, the Dean not being allowed to have more than six, the Headmaster more than four, or the Usher more than two. Choristers, of whom there were only ten, were to be admitted when they had learnt the elements of grammar. Besides these, town-boys (*oppidani*) or day-boys and strangers (*peregrini*) lodging near were admitted. But the whole school, excluding choristers, was not to exceed 120, which was, we may take it, probably rather less than the number at Winchester at that time. The Deans of Westminster and Christ Church, Oxford, and the Master of Trinity, Cambridge, with

the Head-master and three special examiners, were to form a Board, closely modelled on that at Winchester, for election of scholars to and from Westminster. The Queen even tried to bind Trinity, Cambridge, into the same close and exclusive relationship to Westminster that New College bore to Winchester, but the College, not being of her foundation, successfully resisted. The arrangement actually made by which three "Westminsters" at least were elected every year to Trinity, Cambridge, and three to Christ Church, Oxford, was better for both schools and colleges, and has received the homage of imitation in the present arrangements of Winchester and New College, Eton and King's.

The regulations as to the daily life at Westminster were copied in minute particulars from Winchester, even to the direction for the boys to get up at 5 A.M., when one of the Prefects called *Surgite*. As at Winchester and Eton, they were to make their own beds and sweep their own chambers; but there was the retrograde provision that they were to sleep two in a bed. This, coupled with the repeated insistence on the Masters and Prefects seeing that hands and faces were duly washed, heads combed, hair and nails cut, and clothes clean, not ragged and uninhabited, looks as if a lower class of scholar was contemplated than at Winchester. Even the number of Prefects, eighteen, was the same; only they were not called Prefects, but by the name then in use, *Prepositi* or Prepostors. But they are also called *Monitores* and *Moderatores*. There

was a Prefect of Hall, two of chapel, four of chambers (there were only to be two chambers for the forty), four of school, and, a novelty, four of meads (*campi*), and two of the oppidans. This last number was probably borrowed from Winchester practice, as in the early Long Rolls there, beginning with 1653, that is the number we find in Commoners. Lastly, there was a Prefect, for whom there was, fortunately, no need for a prototype at Winchester, the Prefect of the Dirty (*im-mundorum et sordidorum*), who was also to be *Censor morum*; to whom the Winchester Prefect of Tub did not correspond. Even the Westminster Play, specially provided for in the statutes, to be performed in Hall between Christmas and Twelfth Night, the Head-master and Usher having to look after the Latin Play, and the Master of the Choristers an English one, was probably adopted from the practice at Winchester, where the accounts reveal divers items for the expenses on Plays, substitutes, no doubt, for the old Boy-Bishop ceremonies suppressed by proclamation of Henry VIII.

To insure Wykehamical methods, John Randall, Scholar of Winchester, Fellow of New College, was the first Head-master of the new foundation. When exactly he was appointed or how long he stayed does not appear. A writer in a book under the title of the *Great Public Schools* (Edward Arnold; no date), makes the odd statement that the first Head-master of the restored school was our old friend Nicholas Udal, who died, as we have seen, ten years before, the last Master of the old foundation.

In *Endowed Grammar Schools*, 1818, ii. 114, Nicholas Carlisle gives Randall as the Master from 1563 to 1564. But the school was almost certainly constituted in 1560, and Randall must have presided over it therefore for four years, amply long enough to fashion it on the Wykehamical model. So successful was the impetus he gave it, that the school at once took rank with the older Colleges of Winchester and Eton, and with them constituted the trio of Graces known as the great Public Schools.

Another school, of less august parentage indeed, but remarkable for its great development in these later times, and from the first a school of repute, which was placed under Wykehamical guidance and a Wykehamist Head-master, was Bedford Grammar School. It had existed many centuries before, but had perhaps ceased to exist at the dissolution of the Priory of Newnham, to the government of which it had been transferred in 1128. A formal re-foundation took place in 1552, when a charter was obtained from Edward VI. by the Mayor and Corporation of Bedford for a Free Grammar School, the Masters of which were to be appointed by New College, Oxford. Whether the school was actually opened then, as seems most probable, cannot, in the absence of any corporation records of that date, now be ascertained. Certain it is that when it was endowed by Sir William Harper, or Harpur, as the good Bedfordian prefers to spell it, in 1566, he named in his deed as the first Head-master Edmund Grene, who went to Winchester

in 1537, and was a Fellow of New College from 1543 to 1548. Of the history of this school little appears to be known at Bedford after this date, but the researches of the Warden of New College have assembled the names of a considerable number of its Wykehamical Masters. After a Chancery suit in 1725, with Matthew Priaulx, who was, be it noted, a layman, and doubled the part of Head-master with that of Town-clerk, the Wykehamical succession, if it had been lost, as is believed at Bedford, was efficiently revived. From that time, aided by the growth of London, which has sent the revenues of the original 12½ acres in Holborn into five figures, the School has gone from strength to strength under a succession of Wykehamists. The present Head-master, James Surtees Phillpotts, was admitted to College in 1852, and was the last Fellow of New College admitted, without examination, after two years' probation as a Scholar, in 1858. When he took over the headship of the School in January 1875, he found 270 boys in the Grammar School and about 580 in the Commercial School. In 1884 there were 536 boys in the Grammar School, and there are now 836, who, largely by Mr. Phillpotts' energy, have been re-housed in magnificent new buildings on a magnificent site.

The Wykehamical traditions have been followed in internal arrangements and the Prefect system. That Bedford now takes rank among "the great Public Schools" is due to its Wykehamical connection and its Wykehamical Head-master.

Ten years after Bedford another school was founded in accordance with the will of John, Lord Williams of Thame, in which also New College was given the trusteeship as well as the nomination of the Master. This school was famous in its day, numbering among its masters many Wykehamists, and producing among other scholars Dr. Fell, Dean of Christ Church and Bishop of Oxford, the hero of the well-known epigram—

“ I do not like thee, Dr. Fell,
The reason why I cannot tell,”

and Anthony à Wood, the Oxford historian. The latter complained that the Master in his time, Dr. Burt, admitted to College in 1618, afterwards Head-master and Warden of Winchester, was a Parliamentarian, “being acquainted with the Ingoldsbys and Hampdens in Bucks, and other puritanical and factious families, who, while young, had mostly been bred in this school.” It is therefore conjectured that the great John Hampden himself, the hero of ship-money, was in this school, and imbibed some of his sturdy love of liberty from its Wykehamist Head-master. (*Carlisle*, ii. 315.)

Of a different kind of eminence were many Wykehamists at this time, who distinguished themselves in medicine, largely, no doubt, owing to the Founder's provision that two of the Fellows of New College should study that art. Christopher Johnson betook himself to a successful practice at Westminster after resigning the Head-mastership. Another successful medical man was Anthony Aylworth, admitted 1559, Fellow of New

College 1565–82, who was Regius Professor of Medicine and Physician to Queen Elizabeth.

We may note also John Bayly, admitted in 1574, *medicinæ insistens*; Francis Betts, admitted 1575, physician at Worcester; John Gyffard, 1577, a Fellow of the College of Physicians; Richard Hagdocke, 1580, a practitioner at Salisbury; Ralph Bayly, 1583, who practised at Bath; Clement Westcombe, 1591, at Exeter; and Thomas Grent, Founder's kin, 1595, who came to practise at Winchester, and in 1657–59 had a quarterly allowance from College of £1. 5s. (*Annals*, p. 296.)

In the internal management of the school a remarkable development took place in the reign of Warden Stempe, which, beginning in a small and apparently innocent incident, threatened to destroy Wykeham's institution altogether. This was the revival of Founder's kin. We saw how Wykeham, following Merton, had made provision, by way of compensation for the legal portion of his natural heirs diverted to the endowment of the College, for preference of admission for his relations, with special privileges in the way of age of admission and leaving, payments for clothes and other necessities and expenses on proceeding to New College.

This right, though in terms absolute, ought to have been interpreted in accordance with the principles of the canon law, which recognised no kinship after the seventh degree. In Wykeham's case, he being an enforced celibate, there could only be collateral next-of-kin through his sisters, his cousins, and his aunts. Wykeham

had no brothers, and only one sister, Agnes. She became Agnes Champneys, and her only child, Alice, married William Perot. The pair had three sons, who all assumed the name of Wykeham. The eldest, William, was admitted to New College in 1387, but left the same year. He married, but died without issue. The third, John, became one of the earliest Founder's kin recorded at Winchester, having been admitted before the opening day (not on it, as *Annals*), and had his expenses on going up to New College paid for him in 1394 (not 1395, as *Annals*, p. 94 note). He became a priest, and therefore left no descendants. The second son, Thomas, who had been admitted at New College in 1390 and left in 1394, and had therefore no doubt been first a Founder's kin at Winchester, was endowed by Wykeham with the Manor of Otterbourne near Winchester, and with Broughton Castle near Oxford. He had a daughter, who married one Wilkesey, but their son took the name of Wykeham, and this son's daughter married a Fiennes, Lord Saye and Sele, and took the castle and estates of Broughton with the name of Wykeham, to him. His descendant, Wykeham-Fiennes, Lord Saye and Sele, still holds Broughton. One of this Saye and Sele's younger sons, Richard Fynes, a spelling which gives the pronunciation better than the modern spelling, claimed, and was admitted, as Founder's kin in 1465. He was in the fifth degree, according to canon law, which determines the inheritance of real, and the sixth according to civil law, which determines the devolution of personal, property. No

later member of the family claimed it, nor was any next-of-kin admitted to College for a period of seventy-two years, from 1476 to 1548. The privilege had been so sparingly used, however, by the Wykehams, that when in 1569 the son of the then Lord Saye and Sele applied for admission as Founder's kin, it is not surprising that the College should have welcomed him, without scrutinising too closely whether he was or was not a step too late in the pedigree, the strict canon law being then discredited, especially as he was the heir-apparent to a peerage.

But it was an unfortunate precedent. It opened the hatches to a flood of Founder's kin. In 1571 two Sacheverells, in 1572 and 1573 two Blunts, in 1575 one Raynobald of Ipswich, in 1576 and 1577 two Barkers and another Sacheverell came in. Others followed, and the prospect rose before the College of their descendants in geometrical progression thronging in, not subject to any test of fitness, and threatening to convert it from a national institution into the private possession of a few families.

For the number of persons who could claim was enormous. The Founder's aunt, Alice, had no less than thirteen daughters, and they all, or nearly all, had families. Two of her grandchildren, the Warreners or Warners, we have already noticed as Founder's kin in 1397. The grandchildren of another daughter, Edith Ringborne, in the fourth degree, were admitted in 1449 and 1454. The representative of another daughter, John Maryle, appeared in 1427, and of yet another, Bartholomew Bolney, in 1415. Then there were the

descendants of the Founder's uncle, Henry, who has been written down as an Aas, probably representing the modern Ash, one of whom, already in the fourth or fifth degree, was admitted as Founder's kin in 1418.

Finally, there were representatives of Wykeham's mother's family, Strattons of Stratton, one of whom, John Benyt of Botley, was given a chance of succession in the entail of the manor of Otterbourne by Wykeham in 1400.

Yet with all the possible developments of these various lines, only thirty-seven Founder's kin were admitted during the whole ninety years from 1386 to 1476. The reason, probably, was that, as a rule, enforcement of the right meant dedication to the Church and to celibacy, and those who accepted it did not, of course, leave children to take on the title.

Moreover, the absolute cessation after 1476 of any admissions of Founder's kin points to some legal decision or advice, that the right had come to an end through lack of real kinship, by dissipation through so many generations.

The admission of John Bolney in 1548 as Founder's kin does not appear to have produced a new crop of claimants. But that of Richard Fiennes in 1569, being perhaps more widely known through his noble birth and prospects, and perhaps regarded as something of a scandal, produced the crops we have seen.

The question became a burning one when, in 1572, the Wykehams of Swalcliffe near Broughton, but no relation to the Founder, put in their claims as Founder's kin, a claim resisted by the Fiennes, as it confused

their pedigree, while its admission would have let in new hosts on the College. The case was taken to Chancery, and Lord Keeper Bromley decided against the claim, but, by a curious sort of compromise, directed that the claimant's son and four degrees of descendants might be admitted as kin. Afterwards the College turned restive against the Fiennes and Bolneys, and Chancery proceedings were taken. The matter was referred to the Bishop of Winchester, Thomas Cooper, by Christopher Hatton, Lord Chancellor, with an expression of opinion by the Court that—

The public benefits of the realm for the education of children in learning, chiefly intended by the Founder, would be greatly hindered if any of the children of the said complainants should be admitted into the said Colleges, being at this instant a great many in number, and in a short time likely to spread and increase and grow into more generations sufficient of themselves to fill the number of both the Colleges.

The Bishop in his award repeated this reasoning in other words, and also added a very interesting reason of his own, viz., that the revenues of the College had been

greatly augmented and enlarged with many grants, privileges, lands, and possessions by the free gift of the Queen's most excellent Majesty and others, Her Highness's most noble progenitors, and of divers other well-disposed persons, . . . without which augmentation . . . the ancient possessions given by the said Founder were nothing like sufficient to answer the ordinary and necessary charges yearly to be spent and employed about the education and maintenance of half the number by the Founder appointed to be brought up and maintained.

He also said that it appeared that the Founder only allotted £20 among all the Founder's kin in either College, "at the rate of 4 marks a kinsman," which would allow only seven in all. It would be interesting to know whence the four marks is derived, as it does not seem to come from any document now known. He proceeds—

It is evident by the records of both Colleges that there hath not been allowed or admitted as kinsman to the said Founder above the number of eighteen persons of all descents whatsoever, and at all times since the first foundation of the said Colleges, till some of these persons now complaining were admitted.

The exact date to which the number of eighteen is to be reckoned is by no means clear, and would appear to be about half the correct number if it refers to the whole number of Founder's kin admitted up to 1548. It gave the Bishop, however, ground for the somewhat illogical decree that there should not be above the number of eighteen Founder's kin within the said two Colleges altogether, and that the number should be divided so that in Winchester there should not be more than ten at a time; that is, he conceded the right to have in any single year the same number of Founder's kin as he believed to have been admitted in 154 years before.

Mr. Kirby somewhat unnecessarily imputes the objections of the Warden and Fellows to Founder's kin to their desire for the preferment of their own kin;

but seeing that their objections were shared on public grounds by the Chancellor and the Visitor, we may surely attribute to them the higher motive of the credit and dignity of the College. Besides, the objection to Founder's kin was not only that it converted a Public School into a private inheritance. The privilege of Founder's kin tended to lessen learning, for they had an absolute preference for New College up to the age of twenty-five, and that without competition. The result was that they were too often "thicks," and foci of the disease of idleness. Indeed, it was a tale of my time that it had been the practice in College to test the claim of Founder's kin by trying if one of the wooden trenchers which served as plates, and are still used for that purpose at tea, would break, or be broken by, the head of the claimant. If the former, the claim was held to be disproved. When the same point arose nearly two hundred years later at All Souls' College, the Archbishop of Canterbury, acting on the advice of the famous Blackstone of the *Commentaries*, reduced Founder's kin to ten. The limitation procured by Warden Bilson secured Winchester as a Public School. In 1596 he reaped his reward in the Bishopric of Worcester, from which, in 1597, he was translated to Winchester, and presided over the see of Wykeham and Waynflete till 1617.

As Head-master he had been succeeded by Hugh Lloyd of Carnarvon, a Scholar of 1560, one of the numerous Welshmen who at this time distinguished

themselves as school-masters; another was John Owen of Bettws Garmon, Scholar 1577, who was Head-master of Henry VIII.'s "King's New School of Warwick" in 1594, and was the author of a large number of Latin epigrams, which were the most famous in their day, and are probably the wittiest and most pointed that have ever been produced in that tongue, not excepting those of Martial himself. They are full of Elizabethan quips and cranks, the artificiality of which are perhaps less prominent in the Latin author than in his English-writing contemporaries. The first edition was published in 1606, and enlarged editions appeared in 1607 and 1612. They have been republished many times since, both in the original and in English and other translations, and were re-edited by a learned German as late as 1866. Why we at Winchester were not given the book for our ensample in days when we had to produce three Latin epigrams a week, can only be explained by the little honour that a prophet gets in his own country. They are well worth reading. Two only can be quoted here, which are selected for their "note of modernity." The first is general—

*Pro patria sit dulce mori, licet, atque decorum ;
Vivere pro patria, dulcius esse puto.*

*Though sweet it may be for one's country to die,
To live for one's country is sweeter, say I.*

The other might have been penned yesterday on the Fashoda incident. It is called, "A Cock-crow to the

Prince," and turns on a pun which is hardly translatable—

Gallicinium ad Principem.

Anglorum sensit virtutem Gallia; solus
Ad Galli cantum non fugit iste Leo.

France has felt England's power, and learnt to know
The (British) Lion flees not at cock-crow.

It is commonly said that Owen was the inventor of the famous line, *Tempora mutantur, nos et mutamur in illis*, but it occurs, it seems, in Harrison's *Defence of Britain*, in 1577 (the year Owen went to Winchester), though it is quoted as Ovid's in Lyly's *Euphues*, p. 142. There was for some reason, perhaps Tudor influence, a considerable strain of Welsh blood in College at this time, hardly an election taking place without one or more representatives of the Principality being on the Roll. We will not assert that Owen at Warwick was the prototype of Shakespeare's Welsh school-masters, but Warwick is dangerously near to Stratford-on-Avon.

Lloyd left Winchester for ecclesiastical preferment in 1588, when he was succeeded by John Harmar, Scholar in 1569, Fellow of New College and Regius Professor of Greek at Oxford at the age of thirty. He seems to have retained his professorship while Head-master.

In 1593 we have the first surviving record of a Scrutiny, the visitations held by the Warden and Fellows of New College every year. It is much to be regretted that so few of these have been preserved, and those only of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The early ones

would have been infinitely interesting. This Scrutiny of 1598 is signed by Martin Culpeper, the Warden of New College, and John Baily (Scholar, 1574), and T. Havellande (Scholar, 1575), Posers. Their Injunctions were three in number :—(1) That there was to be no table in the buttery (*promptuario*), but that the bursars and guests were to dine in Hall, or in their chambers if the Sub-Warden gave them leave; (2) those not present at *preces* in chapel were not to have commons unless the Warden or Sub-Warden approved the cause of their absence; (3) the School-master was to go into school at 7 and come out at 9, “so that the Scholars may have their meal at the usual time,” and, as they have it in elaborate Latin, “neither their bodies be worn out by too long a fast, or their minds by application without intermission.” John Baily was one of the Fellows of New College who took to medicine, and this care for the boys’ meals points to the carefulness of the medical man, and shows how useful medical Fellows might be.

When Bilson became Bishop of Worcester in 1596, Harmar succeeded him as Warden, but only after an exciting struggle with no less a personage than Queen Elizabeth. The Provost of Eton, Day, had just before been made Bishop of Winchester, and the Queen claiming that the Provostship, like any other ecclesiastical benefice vacated by appointment to a Bishopric, fell under the patronage of the Crown, had procured the election as Provost of Henry Savile, Warden of Merton College, although he was a layman and the statutes required

a priest. The successive phases of the Winchester contest are to be traced in the *Historical MSS. Commission*, *Salisbury MSS.* vi. 165 *seq.*; and *State Papers, Domestic*, 1595–97. The struggle began with an application to the Queen by Henry Cotton, one of the royal chaplains, for the Wardenship. He urged that he had been the Queen's chaplain for fourteen years, and had never asked for anything but the Deanery of Winchester, which had already been promised to another; that the Wardenship would be very handy to him as he lived at Winchester, and had the great merit of not being a Wykehamist. The trifling difficulty arising from his not being qualified by the Winchester statutes was met by the precedents of the appointments by the Queen's progenitors of Sir Thomas Smyth at Eton, Dr. Bill at King's, and Sir John Cheeke at Magdalen College, Oxford. Mr. Cotton then proceeded to attack his competitor, Mr. Harmar "the school-master." Harmar, though he had not taken orders for several years after he became Head-master—a notable piece of evidence of the custom of lay head-masters—and although he had not been "in the ministry above one and a half years," had already received at Her Majesty's hands two bills, one for a prebend in Winchester, the other for a benefice, and yet he never served Her Majesty, and his place of School-master was one "of good account." Discreditable tactics were resorted to against Harmar, by secret attacks on his character, which Bilson disposed of in a letter to Burleigh, bearing very remarkable testimony to the strength of character Harmar

had shown. At the same time, apparently, Bilson himself was attacked by a secret suggestion, as he puts it, "how rich I found, how poor I leave the College, which I forego." To rebut this he gives some interesting figures, showing that he found in the treasury at his first audit in 1581 £1653, and at his last, in 1595, £2441, though no less than £1000 had been expended on three lawsuits.

Harmar's counter-testimonial in his own favour is preserved in a letter to Cecil. He had been made a Scholar of Winchester twenty-nine years before, on the Queen's special recommendation. After taking his Fellowship he had travelled three years and three months in the most famous universities in Europe, among others Basle, Lausanne, Leipzig, Heidelberg, Padua, "Orleance," Paris, and at Argentine undertook a solemn disputation against Pappus, chief of the Lutherans, reported in *Anti-Pappus*, iv., by J. Sturmius, 1570. Then follows an interesting remark, conclusively showing that the Queen had no ill-favour to Winchester.

At Her Majesty's last being in Hants she had the Scholars before her at Aberston [a misreading for Alton or Alverstoke], at which time she vouchsafed to take notice of my being Her scholar, of my travels, of my being skilled in the tongues, Her professor, of publishing many things in print, and said she would have me in remembrance for my preferment.

Another competitor had appeared on the scene, George Ryves, Sub-Warden of Winchester, who attacked the post, with a testimonial from the Dean of Winchester, through

Lord Buckhurst, the Chancellor of the University of Oxford, but his testimonial was vague, being a general allegation of superior fitness. The Queen nominated Cotton. But Wykehamists were made of stouter stuff than Etonians. The Fellows of Winchester, while professing the profoundest respect for Her Majesty's commands, pointed out that they could not obey them by admitting Cotton as Warden "without manifest perjury," as he was not eligible, being neither a Scholar nor a Fellow of New College or Winchester, as required by the statutes to which they were sworn. This difficulty was sought to be met by procuring T. Jefferies, one of the Fellows, "an aged and silly old man," to resign his Fellowship in Cotton's favour. But the Sub-Warden promptly took the objections that the resignation being made conditional on Cotton's appointment was void, and also that the notice required by the statutes had not been given. The Queen then issued Letters Patent appointing Cotton Warden, with a mandate to the Bishop to induct. Then a new difficulty was raised. Bilson, though consecrated Bishop, had not resigned the Wardenship, and quoted the precedent of White, Bishop of Lincoln, who held for a year after his consecration, and others to show that it was not *ipso facto* void; while he had not resigned, "to save the Queen's prerogative," because directly the place was void New College would elect. New College had entered the fray and fired off petitions to the Chancellor of Oxford and to Cecil on behalf of their right to elect. They urged free election for two hundred

years, and that Cotton, not being a Wykehamist, was not like "to love the place like former Wardens, as if it had been his mother and his nurse." Another Richmond in the field in the person of Dr. Tooker urged his own claims to Cecil and the interest of Essex and Raleigh on his behalf. He had previously threatened that in the case of Cotton's intrusion "many thousands nourished in that College (Winchester) will petition for observance of the statutes."

The Queen, moved perhaps by Harmar's claims, withdrew from the contest. The prerogative was saved by the issue of Letters to New College to elect Harmar, and to the Bishop of Winchester to induct. The play had begun in May, and on July 31 the curtain falls on the Bishop of Winchester writing to Burleigh to ask what he, poor man, was to do, as Cotton's Patent was still unrevoked, but yet he was now told to admit Harmar. Admitted, however, Harmar was. The Colleges won, and never again did the Crown attempt to interfere with the freedom of election by New College.

Harmar remained Warden till his death in 1613. As one of the leading Greek scholars of the day, he took a prominent part in the translation of the "Authorised Version" of the Bible in 1607-11, his Company being entrusted with the all-important part—the Four Gospels and Acts of the Apostles,—together with the Revelations.

He was succeeded as Head-master by Benjamin Haydon,



TOWER AND WARDEN'S LODGINGS.

From drawing by Mr. Percy Wadham.

To face p. 320.

born in Kingsgate Street in 1596, who only ruled for five years, and retired to be Dean of Wells, giving place to Nicholas Love in 1601, or 1602.

Whether Winchester's successful resistance to the pressure to which the daughter college had succumbed was a good thing for Winchester is doubtful. Eton benefited greatly by the Provostship being treated as a Crown appointment, and the consequent introduction of laymen and "foreigners," men of the world, like Sir Henry Savile, Sir Henry Wotton, and, in a later day, Francis Rous, Speaker of the House of Commons, in place of the "old gang" of clerics and Kingsmen. Sir Henry Wotton, indeed, being a Wykehamist, like so many previous Provosts and Head-masters, was hardly a foreigner at Eton. His was a most interesting career, both in itself and also because, as he is the first eminent person certainly known to have been a Commoner, both at Winchester and at New College, his name marks an era. From his time there was a growing tendency for Commoners to outshine the Scholars, so far as general fame and prominence before the world goes.

College did not indeed cease to produce quite as brilliant scholars, or as able men, as it had done theretofore. But fame is chiefly attained in two ways—by success in literature, and by prominence in politics. So long as the old system prevailed under which the State was administered by clerics, and literature was equivalent to Latin, Winchester College had, as we have seen, a share out of all proportion to its numbers in ruling the

State and in leading literature. The substitution of laymen for clerics in the management of affairs was adverse to the predominance of Winchester. Winchester Scholars still, in even more than their due proportion, became, and continue to become, Deans and Bishops. New College, 100 years after Bilson's death, still remained the leading College in the University. But Deans and Bishops had ceased to be of the importance they once were. Deaneries had shrunk into little more than sinecure pensions. Bishops, except in the by no means admirable examples of Laud and Atterbury, ceased to be great political personages. Eminence at the Universities ceased to be eminence in the Republic of Letters, which shifted its capital from Oxford to London. Oxford, and New College in particular, it is to be feared became the home of lost causes. The ambition of the best Winchester Scholars was apt to be satisfied or extinguished with succession to a snug Fellowship and snugger living; and the saying came into vogue that New College men were "golden scholars, silver bachelors, and leaden masters." With a few notable exceptions, from the latter days of Elizabeth to the early days of Victoria, from 1600 to 1857, the Winchester Scholars who made the greatest figure in the world were those who failed of their election to New College, and the Winchester Scholar was not as prominent as the Winchester Commoner.

Sir Henry Wotton had the good fortune to find a *vates sacer* in that famous fisherman and biographer, Izaak

Walton (*Lives*, Bell & Daldy, 1864, p. 77 *seq.*). He tells us that Wotton, after being brought up by a tutor in his father's house at Bocton, in Kent—

When time and diligent instruction had made him fit for removal to a higher form, which was very early, he sent him to Winchester School, a place of strict discipline and order, that so he might, in his youth, be moulded into a method of living by rule, which his wise father knew to be the most necessary way to make the future part of his life, both happy to himself and useful for the discharge of all business, whether public or private. And that he might be confirmed in this regularity, he was, at a fit age, removed from that school to be a Commoner of New College in Oxford, both being founded by William Wickham, Bishop of Winchester.

Wotton must have been at Winchester under the witty and genial Johnson. After a short stay at New College he went to Queen's. There he electrified Oxford first by a play called *Tancred*, and then by Latin lectures on the eye, which earned him, from Albericus Gentilis, then Professor of Civil Law, the title of "Little eye," "Henrice, mi Ocelle." From him Wotton learnt Italian, and then went on the "grand tour," staying in France and at Geneva for a year, five years in Germany, and five in Italy, where he became noted for his learning and his wit. On his return he was taken up by the Earl of Essex, with whom he went on two expeditions against Spain. This connection would perhaps have proved fatal on Essex's rebellion, had not a prompt flight to Rome, on hearing of his patron's arrest, saved him. From

Rome he went to Florence, where a romantic incident befell him. The Grand Duke of Florence had heard of a plot against the life of James, then King of Scotland, and he entrusted Wotton with a warning to him. Wotton disguised himself as an Italian, and under the name of Baldi delivered his message, letting no one but James himself know that he was an Englishman, and after three months "departed as true an Italian as he came thither."

When James, a few months after, became King of England he promptly sent for Wotton, and made him Ambassador to Venice, which State was in the throes of a contest with the Pope, and on the point of rejecting the Papal supremacy. While there Wotton got into trouble for his famous definition of an ambassador as "an honest man sent to lie abroad for the good of his country." Being requested by a German "to write some sentence in his albo, a book of white paper, which, for that purpose, many of the German gentry usually carry about with them," he wrote this, not in English, but in Latin, lie appearing as *mentiendum*, and therewith the pun and the point disappeared. This album fell into the hands of "Jasper Scioppius, a Romanist of a restless spirit and a malicious pen, who, with books against King James, prints this as a principle of the religion professed by the King and his Ambassador."

Wotton only averted his recall by profuse apology and explanation. He served as ambassador for many years more, first in Italy and then to the Emperor. His own advice for success as an ambassador was the

direct opposite of his joke, being an anticipation of Bismarck's—

He should always, and upon all occasions, speak the truth; for, says Sir Henry, you shall never be believed, and by this means your truth will secure yourself if you shall ever be called to an account, and it will also put your adversaries, who will still hunt counter, to a loss in all their disquisitions and undertakings.

After his return to England the King, by way of meeting his arrears of pay and allowances, made him Provost of Eton. A pathetic account is given of a visit to his old school a year before his death.

He, as he returned, said to a friend, his companion in that journey. . . . My now being in that School and seeing that very place, where I sat when I was a boy, occasioned me to remember those very thoughts of my youth which then possessed me; sweet thoughts indeed, that promised my growing years numerous pleasures, without mixtures of cares; and those to be enjoyed when time—which I therefore thought slow-paced—had changed my youth into manhood. But age and experience have taught me that those were but empty hopes. Nevertheless I saw there a succession of boys using the same recreations and, questionless, possessed with the same thoughts that then possessed me. Thus one generation succeeds another both in their lives, recreations, hopes, fears and death.

XXIII

THE TROUBLES

JAMES I. inaugurated his connection with Winchester by turning the College and the School out of house and home. In 1603, owing to the Plague in London, the Law Courts were held at the old capital, Winchester, in the Bishop's Palace of Wolvesey. So, under Privy Seal, the King wrote—

We let you know that we have maide choice of your Colledge, being here adjoining to the said Pallace, for the lodging of our Judges and Sergeants. Wherefore our pleasure is, and we require and straightly command you, the Warden and Fellowes of the same Colledge, that you remove yourselves and your Fellowes from the same Colledge unto some place appointed by your Founder in like case of necessitie or special occasion, and forthwith to yield your house and lodgings to the said Judges and Sergeants for their aboad so long as the said term shall continue. For which we are well pleased to dispense with any your private statute or ordinance to the contrary.

A curious instance this of the "dispensing power" of the Crown. The Masters and Scholars were sent off to Silkstead, on the way to Hursley, a charming spot, where they no doubt enjoyed the change in spite of

being deprived of the excitement of attending the courts at Wolvesey, or of seeing Sir Walter Raleigh tried and convicted of treason in connection with Cobham's plot. The Warden presumably betook himself to his prebendal house or his rectory, and the Fellows to their livings, or perhaps only their private houses near by. For it is clear from the contemporary documents that the old corporate life of the Wardens and Fellows living a common life college-wise together was breaking, or was broken, up. This is the burden of the two archiepiscopal visitations and several of the ordinary New College scrutinies which have come down to us.

After a visitation in 1608, held by two Commissioners, of whom one was Lake, afterwards Warden of New College and Bishop of Bath and Wells, joined later by Bishop Bilson, Archbishop Bancroft gave no less than two dozen Injunctions (Wilkins' *Concilia*, iv. 434). They were mostly aimed at restricting the private grabbing of the Warden and Fellows, and restoring common action and the common life. Most significant is Injunction 4, that the "dyett of the Fellows shall not be taken but only in the Common Hall, except it be in time of sickness to be taken in their chambers," and "that noe bread or beer be carried out of the College, either into any of the Fellows' private houses or to any other place." The marriage of Fellows had already begun to break up the Hall dinner, and the Fellows' families had begun to devour the "children's" substance.

Injunction 10, directing that the electors to Win-

chester and New College “jointly concur for the electing of those which are most worthy,” and forbidding nominations by single electors, is evidence that this latter practice, which prevailed to 1857, had already begun. The next Injunction demonstrates that the system of patronage was not far removed from that of corruption, though the absence of the word “scholar” is noteworthy—

11. That no School-master, Usher, Chaplain, Clerk, Chorister, or servant be elected or accepted into the same for any money or reward, directly or indirectly.

From several of the ordinances it is clear that the Warden and Fellows’ share of the property had already departed from the statutory allowances by dividing the proceeds of falls of timber and fines on copyholds. But the School-masters’ stipends had only been raised, out of the general College funds, by £1. 10s. and 6s. 8d. in 1560 beyond their statutory £10 and £6. 13s. 4d. Consequently they took payments from the scholars, a practice forbidden by these Injunctions—

Neither the School-master, Usher, nor any Fellow of that House at any time extort, challenge, or insert into his accompts, or any ways take or receive any sum of money for chamber rent, or for being tutor to any of the scholars within or without the said College.

Another Injunction specifically concerned Commoners—

Item, that for so much as the Commoners ought not by the statute to be burthensome to the College, they shall

every one of them hereafter pay for their commons 4s. by the weeke, in the same manner that their former weekly summes for their commons were paid.

A rise from 8d. or 1s. to 4s. a week, or fourfold, therefore represented in the visitors' opinion the increased cost of provisions since Wykeham's time.

In 1613 Love left the Head-mastership for the Wardenship, and was succeeded as Head-master by Hugh Robinson, Scholar from 1596 to 1603. He retired to divers canonries in 1627, giving way to Edward Stanley, Scholar 1610-16, who held until the outbreak of the Civil War in 1642. It is presumably owing to Warden Love that the College records include several Scrutinies which took place in his time, and resulted in Injunctions by the scrutineers to the Winchester authorities.

The first of them, that of 1617, points to absolute disintegration of the collegiate life. The Fellows were to attend chapel, an observance, the visitors said, almost entirely neglected; also to dine in Hall, where the High Table was only to consist of the Warden and four or five seniors, the rest, as in Rubric 14, to dine at a side-table. The Fellows were to sleep in College, while no strangers were to be admitted to Hall or Buttery, and especially not to drink there at the cost of the College. The tenth Injunction seems to point to some such abuses as existed at Christ's Hospital, where the "nurses" in the end of the last century took away the joints from the boys' tables. "The boys' dispers (*fercula*) were not to be diminished, nor their joints

(*jusculum*) carried away by any one before they are served."

In 1618 and 1620 other Scrutinies repeat much the same complaints. In 1620 it was ordered that meat was to be given the boys "of due weight, that they may not be driven to get their food elsewhere"; and the following year there was a similar direction that better victuals were to be provided for the boys, both eatables and drinkables, showing that already the boys were stinted to increase the shares of their elders. But complaints and injunctions were in vain. There was no power to enforce them, except perhaps by appeal to the Visitor, which the Fellows of New College—prospective Wardens, Head-masters, and Fellows of Winchester—would have liked as little as the Fellows of Winchester themselves. So the Fellows continued to divide the surplus, and the Scholars and the School continued to be starved and cramped.

In 1629 a curiously belated exercise of ecclesiastical jurisdiction was attempted at the instance of Stanley, the Head-master. He asked the Archbishop of Canterbury to put down a rival school, on the plea of preventing the overlapping, of which we hear so much nowadays in respect of the supply of secondary education in the same area. He wrote—

Whereas the said Schoole of that College, well known unto your Grace, doth admitt for instruction the youth of all sorts in the citie of Winton and places adjoining; so it is, that one John Imber (sometime Usher of the said Schoole),

bath of late upon a general license granted out of your Grace's Court of Faculties, or from your Vicar-Generall, sett up and still doth continue the teachinge of Grammar and Latin Bookes within the said citie, to the great prejudice and discouragement of the said Collegiat Schoole.

He asked that the licence might be revoked, and that in all future licences for school-masters for that diocese a clause should be inserted, "that they shall not teach within seven miles from the same College." It is not very clear how the Archbishop came to grant the licence at all. In pre-Reformation days the licensing of school-masters was the business of the Ordinary, as we saw in 1488, and by the Canons of 1603 it was also the business of the Ordinary. How came the Archbishop to interfere? At first the Archbishop endorsed the petition with a recommendation that "the faculty granted to Mr. Imber be so interpreted and restrayned that the said Imber shall not teach within five miles of Winchester." But the Corporation of Winchester informed the Archbishop that Mr. Imber had "married a widow of one of our company," and

immediately on his departure from the College seated himself, being destitute of other means, in the city of Winchester; and hath for this year and half used great pains and diligence in the education and teaching of our children, both in learning and the fear of God; teaching all poor men's sons for God's sake only.

The city had allowed him the disused chapel of St. John's Hospital, at the bottom of High Street, near the now destroyed East gate, for a schoolhouse, and he had

repaired it at his own expense, and read prayers there at 7 [A.M.] and 5 P.M. daily, to the great benefit of the brethren and sisters of the Hospital, and others.

Moreover, these are to certifye your Grace that ever from tyme to tyme, without all contradiction, we have been allowed schoolmasters that instructed our children in grammar learning within this city, it being very populous and full of youth, especially poor.

So they asked that they might not be deprived "of this great benefit, which never yet, till now, was questioned."

The Corporation would have taken a much stronger line than "humbly craving your gracious favour to this poor city" had they enjoyed the advantage of reading the earlier part of this book, and learnt that so far from the School-master of the College having the right to get an injunction to restrain the School-master of the town from teaching grammar, it was only by special favour that the School-master of the College was allowed to infringe on the monopoly of his rival, and that a former diocesan had even forbidden the School-master of the College to take outsiders at all. The Archbishop referred the matter to the Chancellor of the diocese of Winchester. In his letter he speaks of the College School as "the Free School in the College." He complains that his "Master of the Faculties" had granted the licence to Imber without his knowledge in too wide terms, "for more dioceses than I do use to grant, and especially for cities of that note, as they be, which are comprehended therein, and that to him who was then but a B.A."

Then he makes a very important historical statement—

And I do now remember that such was the respect that heretofore was borne unto the College and School near Winchester, that whereas King Henry VIII. in the new founding of his cathedral churches, did erect particular schools and colleges in other places, as at Canterbury, Worcester, and elsewhere; in contemplation of that famous School at Winchester he did erect none there, but left the education of the youth unto that which was founded by that worthy and reverend man, Bishop Wickham.

The Dean and Warden with the Chancellor were left to hear all parties and settle the matter peacefully. The result does not appear, but as Imber was beneficed by the Dean and Chapter in 1640, it is to be presumed that he was allowed to continue his school. These documents suggest that the old city Grammar or High School, in spite of its continuance to, or revival in, 1488, had come to an end many years before the date we have reached, probably before the dissolution of the Cathedral Priory. The cause of cessation must have been its inability to withstand the competition of the College School.

As usual with this kind of record we are not told enough. We want to know whether Imber, being dismissed, induced the city to support him, or whether the city had seduced Imber into deserting the College for them. Probably we may detect in the incident the usual jealous feeling on the part of the parents of day-boys, in a school which is mainly a boarding-school, that their

sons are neglected or trampled on. At all events, as the city preferred to have its own separate school it lost its title to complain when, whether at this juncture or at some later time, the College, in its turn, refused to serve the city. If the College School was to be for day-boys as well as boarders, it was entitled to protection from having a large number of boys suddenly carried off by a conspiracy between the city and members of its staff. If it did not get that protection, it was only acting in self-defence in refusing to subject itself to the danger by closing its gates to the fleeting day-boy altogether.

The same year Head-master Stanley suffered another rebuff in being beaten in the election for the Wardenship on Love's death, though he got a letter from the King in his favour. The successful candidate, John Harris, was on the spot, New College, and Regius Professor of Greek. He must have been a man of considerable diplomatic skill, as he retained his place and remained in good odour alike under Laud and under Cromwell. Apparently the Fellows of New College thought that Stanley, the Head-master, was setting up his horn too high, as a letter is preserved from one of them to a newly elected Fellow of Winchester, urging him to egg the new Warden on to vindicate his authority over him and the Usher. Mr. Kirby prints this letter in *Annals* (p. 317), in a way which suggests that it is printed *verbatim*, which it is not, and that it was directed against the School-master only, whereas it was against the Usher as well.

First, it is suggested that they may, "though married sometimes," be made to "lodge" (not "lie," as Kirby) in College, and the writer says that Bishop Andrewes was very angry at their neglect to do so. Next, they should be made to attend prayers in chapel every morning. "For this cause they have breakfast allowed, which the Fellows have not," an interesting sidelight on the internal economy of the place. Thirdly, the Warden may hold the School-master to his school-hours, viz.: from 7 to 9 A.M. and 2 to 5 P.M. (not, as Kirby, 2 to 4 P.M. or 3 to 5 P.M.). "The use of late has been 3 to 5 P.M. and 8 to 9.30 A.M., being too short." This is further explained by the sixth point, which is, that the Warden can appoint the scholars' tutors, "or at least scatter the pupils and diminish the charge, which is grown too heavy for poor scholars, and the number and cumber of so many pupils doth hinder the School-master in his main duty." So that it is suggested that the Master cut short the school hours and then employed his time out of school on private pupils, some of them at least Scholars, paying for the privilege. Then it is urged that "Remedies" are in the Warden's hands to give, "especially fatt ones, and to confine lean ones to a due number"; and the writer interestingly illustrates this by reference to Eton and Westminster, where the Provost and Dean keep the control, "by a good token, that Dean Mountain denied Bishop Bilson a play-day after he was a Privy Councillor." Leave-out was also a matter for the Warden, though, to save trouble, usually delegated to the Master only.

A somewhat inconsistent piece of cantankerousness is point seven—

To avoid severity, according to my Lord of Winchester's desire, the Warden may order that any great and enormous fault, which may seem to deserve above five stripes, be brought to himself, that he, with the other officers, may consider and award a fit punishment. Diligent attendance of the Scholars at school, church, hall, chambers, and rolls will prevent faults, and save much of that severity which hath been used, and otherwise must be used still, or else the School will continue as disorderly as now. And such partial kind of lenities as of late hath been used only for private advantage, without such attendance, hath wronged the School much more than the old severity.

It seems that the writer wishes to accuse the Master, but has not made up his mind whether it is of undue severity or undue lenity. The "old severity" seems to refer to some one before Stanley. Point eight suggests that the Warden should himself go "into School or cloisters" to examine the Scholars, especially in Greek, "and what dunces are preferred for favour and reward, what good scholars discountenanced or discouraged, and both of them righted. This will make the School-master much more careful." Finally, adds the writer—

If there be not more attendance and teaching, less charges and whipping than is reported, the School will never thrive, nor the College recover its power again. For £360 (which the School-master, they say, earneth of his place) cannot be raised from seventy children, and about twelve commensals, without great exactions.

If Stanley had reduced the School to twelve Commoners he certainly wanted not so much bringing under the thumb of the Warden, as dismissal.

Yet he remained Head-master till 1642, when he fled from the wrath to come.

In 1635 the College underwent a visitation from Archbishop Laud (Wilkins' *Concilia*, iv. 517). His general complaints were much the same as those at the Scrutinies, thereby testifying how futile these were. Not a word is said about the School or schoolboys, except that the Fellows' and Scholars' commons should be augmented, and a fire allowed in Hall "on such days as your statute doth require." Laud was very particular that in Chapel the Communion Table (even Laud, far gone in Ritualism as he was, did not call it an altar) should be placed at the East end. The practice under the Reformation had been, since it was a table, to place it as a table with access to it from all sides. Also, he enjoined that

Such reverence be used in your chapel both in your access thereto and recess therefrom, and also in service time, as is practised in cathedral churches.

An expiring effort to revive a dying and obsolete practice, no doubt of considerable educational value if carried out, was the Solemn League and Covenant, signed by eighteen Scholars, no doubt the Prefects, on October 14, 1639—

Remembering the ancient custom and teaching of this place, remembering the School Laws, remembering, lastly,

our duty and obedience to the reverend Mr. (*Domino*) Warden who has often asked this—

to talk Latin in school, hall, chambers, and every place in which they assembled, with the quaint exception in favour of those “who are totally ignorant of that language.” Any one wilfully transgressing “we esteem guilty of sin towards God, and of infamy among men.”

“The Troubles” began next year with the meeting of the Long Parliament. Yet so little did they affect the College, that this year saw the first addition to the College buildings since the days of William of Wykeham, in the shape of Sick-house. This charming little specimen of seventeenth-century architecture was built by Warden Harris on or near the site of the old Carmelite Friary, acquired by College a hundred years before, as a sanatorium for the Scholars. It was greatly enlarged in 1775, at the back, by John Taylor, a Fellow. Its front is intact, with the donor’s inscription on it—*Sumptibus Harrisii fuit aedificata Bethesda*—the last word, the House of Rest, appearing in Hebrew characters over the door. The building used to be surrounded by Sick-house Meads, and a garden from which, in my time, under Mrs. Ferris, were produced fruits of all kinds, and above all the most excellent gooseberry fool in due season. The all-devouring bricklayer has occupied them on one side with an Infirmary, which looks big enough to contain half the school, and the new Museum on the other. Sick-house is still a by no means unpleasant resort for College boys with uninfectious ailments.

SICKHOUSE, BUILT 1640.

From photograph by Mr. J. Abbey.

To face p. 338.

The Troubles troubled not, nor were likely to trouble, the School. The English Revolution and the great Civil War were no wild destructive outbursts like the French Revolution or Wat Tyler's rebellion. The Parliamentarians, Puritans or otherwise, were far more given to learning than the Royalists. Oliver Cromwell spared the College plate at Cambridge, not so Charles I. Oliver Cromwell erected a University at Durham, which Charles II. destroyed. Milton, Waller, and Marvell were Parliamentarians; while the only poet the Royalists could produce was Cleveland. Yet writer after writer of school history, no matter what the school, seems to assume that it is only by special Providence that his particular school escaped destruction by the wicked Roundheads; it does not seem to have occurred to them as odd that the special Providence was practically universal. Winchester has got its own particular legend of how it was miraculously saved by an old Wykehamist. As to who the saviour was, when he saved it, how he saved it, and what he saved it from, the legend-mongers do not agree among themselves. Two entirely different versions were orally current in my time. In one of them Wykeham's College, and in the other Wykeham's Chantry in Cathedral, were saved from the violence of a "brutal soldiery" by the interposition of an old Wykehamist, variously described as a captain of foot and a colonel of dragoons, who, "amongst the faithless faithful only found," with a drawn sword guarded the sacred precinct. There is no foundation for the story in either form.

The Rev. H. C. Adams in his *Wykehamica* (p. 89) places the event in 1645, and tells the tale in true *Acta Sanctorum* style.

Most of the chief public buildings, and especially those set apart for religious purposes, were either grievously mutilated or entirely destroyed. The carved work and painted glass in the cathedral were dashed to fragments, . . . the monuments of the dead broken up, and their contents scattered over the pavement. In the midst of this general destruction Wykeham's College and tomb remained as entirely free from injury as the dwellers in Goshen were of old in the evil day of Egypt. While all was destruction and havoc elsewhere, not a fragment of painted glass in Wykeham's chapel was broken, not one of the sculptured figures beneath the canopied niches was displaced, not a moulding of the rich tracery which adorns his chantry was so much as chipped. A Wykehamist, who had unhappily forgotten his vows of loyalty to his sovereign and his church, *could* (*sic*) not forget also the oath which he had sworn, to preserve from injury of whatsoever kind the college in which his boyhood had been reared. He was fortunately an officer of much weight and influence in the rebel army, and by exerting these to the utmost, he was enabled to save, as it were, his foster-mother in the hour of her utmost need.

Name! name! But no name is vouchsafed. Nor does Mr. Adams inform us why, against all former writers, he has changed the date of the miracle—for as a miracle it is represented—to 1645. No one before has suggested that either College or Cathedral suffered the smallest damage, when in that year the city was

taken by Cromwell without a struggle, and the Royalist garrison, royally drunk, evacuated the castle a week later, 8th October 1645 (*Cal. State Papers*, 1644-45), as soon as siege-guns began to play upon it. But in whatever year it is placed, the representation of Winchester as having been subjected to a general devastation at any time during the Civil War has no relation to history.

Mackenzie Walcott's account has at least "put a name to it."

The drunken brawls and profane shouts of Sir William Waller's rebel troopers were heard in the holy aisles of the Cathedral on December 15, 1642, as they hewed down carved work and monuments; but by the gallant interposition of two Wykehamists, Colonel Nathaniel Fiennes and Mr. Nicholas Love, no sacrilegious hand was laid upon the Founder's shrine, nor foot of the destroyer entered the gates of St. Mary's College.

Both accounts seem to be derived from Milner's *History of Winchester* (i. 408), where he gives the authority of John Ryves's *Mercurius Rusticus*, p. 230. An alternative name of the volume is, "*The Countries Complaint of the Murthers, Robberies, Plunderings, and other Outrages committed by the Rebels on His Majesty's faithful Subjects*," printed in the year 1648. It is, as the date and title sufficiently suggest, a collection of all the calumnies against the Parliamentary party that the author, said in the *Dictionary of National Biography* to be not John Ryves, who was a Wykehamist and

Canon of Winchester, but Bruno Ryves, afterwards Dean of Chichester, could collect or invent. He gives an account of destruction in 1642. His authority may be gauged by these statements—

They demolishe and overturne the monument of Cardinal Beaufort, . . . they deface the monument of Wainflet, founder of Magdalen College, Oxford, lately beautified, . . . and the velvet chair wherein Queen Mary sat when she was married to Philip of Spain.

The chair is still on show. Waynflete's monument is among the best preserved and most splendid monuments in the kingdom. Mr. W. H. St. John-Hope, Assistant-Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries, than whom on such a matter there is no better authority, made a printed report, dated 2nd January 1898, to Magdalen College on it, and said, "With the exception of the upper part of the Bishop's mitre (this is apparently an eighteenth-century restoration) the whole of the monument is original and in excellent order." Beaufort, though he wore the panoply of the Scarlet Woman herself, lies intact in all the glories of the red hat and robes of a Cardinal. His bed has been raised, but that is all.

The actual damage done seems to have been limited to destruction of the organ as a Popish instrument, the opening of two of the chests of royal bones on the top of the choir-screen, stopped, according to Ryves himself, by the officers, and some havoc in the Chapter

Muniment-room. If it be argued from subsequent repairs that Waynflete's or Beaufort's tomb had been damaged by the "rebels," then, unfortunately for the legend, Wykeham's had been also. For there is in the *Bursars' Book* of 1664 an entry (*Annals*, p. 353) of the considerable sum of £24. 15s. 10d. spent on repairs to Wykeham's chantry, including repainting the "monument" and repair of the "hearse," *i.e.* not a candlestick, but the latten or iron framework, over the whole tomb, to hold the pall and trappings at his obit. One such may still be seen in the Beauchamp Chapel at Warwick. Mr. Kirby says, "These repairs were rendered necessary by the damage which the monument had sustained during the Civil War." But mere repainting the statue and re-fixing spikes does not imply violent damage. If damage had been done, Ryves would certainly have mentioned it. His silence as to any damage, or intended damage, is evidence for the later invention of the whole story of the intended destruction and marvellous preservation. It does not occur in Gale's *History of Winchester*, 1715. or Warton's (Anonymous) *Description*, 1750; but is to be found for the first time in Wavell's *Winchester* in 1773 (i. 44), where the saviour is given as "one Cuff."

As for the College itself being in danger from the Parliamentary armies, that was very unlikely. Parliament was most careful of the schools. In 1642 it made an ordinance for sequestering the revenues of Deans and Chapters, but it was careful, on the matter being

brought before its notice, to order, on 20th October (*Commons' Journals*, ii. 827)—

That it be referred to the Committee for the King's revenue to consider if the College of Westminster, the Colleges of Eaton, of Christ Church in Oxford and Winchester, to provide for those Colleges that none of the revenues assigned for the scholars and almsmen of those Colleges may be stopped, or the payment thereof intercepted, notwithstanding the ordinance of sequestering the rents and profits of Archbishops, Bishops, Deans, and Deans and Chapters.

Westminster was of course intimately bound up with the Dean and Chapter; but as regards Winchester and Eton this order could only have been *ex abundanti cautela*, and to save any payments made out of the Chapter revenues.

A few months later, 17th February 1644, on a petition from Cambridge University, it was declared—

That the statute which imposeth the wearing of surplices upon all graduates and students, . . . reinforced by the Canons, made 1603, ought not to be pressed or imposed upon any, . . . it being against law and the liberty of the subject.

Three days afterwards (*Journals*, ii. 972) it was resolved—

That the Colleges of Westminster, Eaton, and Winchester be added and comprehended within the order of 17th February concerning the imposing upon young scholars the wearing of surplices.

When excise duties were imposed by Parliament in 1646, Warden Harris tried to get Winchester exempted, as it had been from royal subsidies and aids; and part of his correspondence with Nicholas Love, son of the late Warden Love, and an old Wykehamist, a Commoner, is preserved. Love was one of the six clerks of Chancery—a dignified and lucrative office now abolished—and a Parliament man. Love writes that Cambridge University was not exempt from excise as Harris supposed, but that he and others were conferring “with the Burgess for Cambridge and the Master of Eaton, a Parliament man,” about it. In March 1647 he wrote that nothing could be done till after the visitation of Oxford Colleges by a Committee—

Uppon their report a rise will be taken by all schollers and schollers’ friends to exempt them from publique impositions. Meantime he has prevailed with the Commissioners to intimate a connivency.

On 18th September he writes again from Westminster—

I have prevayled with the Commissioners for the excise not to bee hastye in pressing you to it. If any under-officers are too petulant uppon you, if you please to intimate soe much to mee, care shall be taken to make them more gentle.

Again in 1649, we read under date 29th May (*Commons’ Journals*, vi. 219)—

An Act declaring that the Act for abolishing of Deans and Chapters doth not extend to the Colleges of Winchester and Eaton, this day read, and upon the question passed.

Ordered, That it be referred to the Committee for regulating the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge to nominate Visitors for regulating the Colleges of Winchester and Eaton.

The Act abolishing Deans and Chapters, 1649, c. 24, 30th April (*Ordinances and Proclamations*, 1653-56, p. 721), contained an express proviso, recited in an Ordinance of the Protector, 15th February 1654—

That all the revenues, rents, . . . which before 1st December 1641 had been or ought to have been paid for the maintenance of any Grammar School or scholars, or for or towards the reparation of any Almshouse, or for any other charitable use, . . . should be and continue to be paid and allowed as they were.

So that not only the three "Public" Schools, but every Cathedral and Collegiate Church School, such as the King's School, Canterbury, or the Grammar School of Southwell, was expressly safeguarded. It was not likely, therefore, that the diplomatic Harris or his College would suffer.

At Oxford some thirty Fellows of New College were displaced because they would not acknowledge the authority of the Visitors, on the usual pretext of their oath to the statutes. Their oath had not prevented them from being, as Professor Burrows has shown (*Register of Visitors of the University of Oxford*, 1647-58. Camden Society, 1881), guilty of the grossest corruption in the election of Fellows. The vacancies were filled by the Visitors, some with old Wykehamists, but mostly with outsiders. This was made matter of complaint by Harris, who spoke

of "the great prejudice and discouragement of those young scholars that are brought up here in hope of succession," and in the following years the elections from Winchester were held as usual. Winchester College itself was visited first by the Committee of Religion for Hampshire, when, according to an anonymous defender of Warden Harris, after the Restoration, writing on the backs of old letters, the Head-master, "Dr. Pottenger, by his interest in Mr. Withars of Manydowne, whose daughter he had married, was hardly acquitted, and Dr. Harris with much more difficulty." At this visitation it was that Harris was attacked in the articles printed by Mr. Kirby in *Annals*, p. 339, to which he oddly says that "we have not got the Warden's answer." It is, however, in the same bundle. The articles and answers together show Harris to have been a judicious trimmer. He was charged with superstition in supporting "corporal bowings at the name Jesus," and preaching in support of the "ceremonies imposed by the Bishops in Convocation." This he admitted, "desiring only the time may be considered when preached, when the Canons stood established by law . . . ; since they were declared void by Parliament he had never done so." It was also objected—

He hath duly served the times; for at his first coming to the College he used no adoration at the High Altar, but afterwards (with other superstitions) fell to that. At the first convening of the Parliament he left it again, [never] used it since, and now forbears it.

His answer was he "never did it till enjoined by the Archbishop's visitation." He made the same answer to the charge of setting the Communion Table altar-wise; but urged that at a living of peculiar jurisdiction which he held as Prebendary of Winchester, he had left it as it was. There were political charges, of praying for the King's army and Sir W. Ogle, the Governor of Winchester Castle, and sending them money and plate; of having in sermons derided the sufferings of Burton, Prynne, and Bastwick; of having compared the King to David, and desired destruction to those risen against him. He admitted that, after the Star Chamber's judgment, he had preached about those "who for the misuse of their tongues had lost their ears, and referred to one in Germany who had his tongue cut out," but said it had "no particular application"! He had sent money to Ogle, but only for ransom from violence; the plate was all there and could be seen. In *Annals*, p. 340, is a list of some valuable articles which had disappeared. Harris did not deny that he prayed for the King, "but not for the confusion of Parliament."

We may suspect that Harris was saved rather from jealousy of Sir H. Mildmay than on his own merits. Mildmay was said by our anonymous writer to have pressed the visitation, having

"Designed himself against all pretence of right and statute to be Warden there, . . . and, had he come, good havock there would have been of the woods." But "by the means of Mr. Nic. Love, Nath. Fiennes, and others, with whom the

Doctor had preserved an interest, the committee was so modelled that Mildmay was sure to lose his design, for Love and Wallop were appointed to defeat him."

The Wallops, ancestors of the Earls of Portsmouth, were always faithful Wykehamists from the days of Wykeham to the present century, when they deserted to Eton.

Parliament clearly had no designs against schools in general, or Winchester in particular. The Parliamentary army was well in hand, and none of its soldiers could have supposed that an attack on a school would be regarded as anything but an outrage. The whole story of the danger and salvation of College has apparently been concocted from a confused version of the action of Fiennes and Love at the Visitation, and of a previous visit by Fiennes. On 12th December 1642, the day before the battle in which Waller routed Lord Grandison and thereby obtained possession of Winchester and its castle, Fiennes, a Parliamentarian, stayed in College with a company of infantry. The *Bursars' Book*, under date 12th December 1642, records £20 paid to "Mr. Fines'" soldiers (*militibus*); £5 to soldiers left behind; £2 to six other soldiers; a bushel of wheat for the soldiers, 5s. I say infantry, not as Mr. Kirby, horse, because of a further entry, 5s. 6d. for 12 bushels of malt for the horses of Mr. Fines' servants (*famulorum*, not *militum*). Twelve bushels would have gone a very small way among a troop of horse. Mr. Kirby ingeniously conjectures from the amount of the payment at 6s. 3d. a piece, that there were eighty-one soldiers there. Hacket, a Fellow, and the

Head-master also paid 5s. "to some soldiers," and "le watch" in the Warden's lodgings cost 6d. more. The total expense of the visit was £28. 16s.

With castle and town then in possession of the Royalist garrison, this visit of the chief of Founder's kin to College could only have taken place by the friendly complaisance of the Warden, and the idea of any hostile action by Fiennes' soldiers is absurd.

On 12th October 1649, after the suppression of the second Civil War, the general, officers, and divers officials were required to sign "the Engagement," and among those specially mentioned were "the Masters, Fellows, and School-masters in Eton, Winchester, and Westminster Colleges" (*State Papers, Domestic*, 1649-50, p. 338). The Engagement was—

I do declare and promise that I will be true and faithful to the Commonwealth of England, as the same is now established without a King or a House of Lords.

The Warden and Head-master no doubt took the Engagement, as we hear nothing to the contrary, and they kept their places.

The line was strictly drawn however, for Harris suffered as a Prebendary if he did not as a Warden, since we find in July 1649 (*Cathedral Documents*, Hants Record Society, ii. 75) that Dr. Harris's house was assigned to "Withers, Esq.," while Dr. Stanley's, the ex-School-master's, was given to Colonel Norton, and Nicholas Love himself received the Deanery. Love lived in the Close,

and gave proof how little the Parliamentarians warred against even churches, let alone colleges, for we find in the same volume a subscription raised on 20th May 1654 for the repair of the Cathedral, to which Robert Wallop contributed £5; Nicholas Love and Richard Cobb, £4 each; Dr. J. Harris, £5.

Nicholas Love also showed his loyalty to the College and Cromwell his to learning by the one asking for and the other giving in 1652 a large present of MSS. and books, taken from the Cathedral, to the College.

Another Wykehamist, meanwhile, in the safe seclusion of Norwich, a staunch Parliamentary town, was steadily pursuing his professional practice as a doctor, and giving to the world a book or two which "it will not willingly let die." Sir Thomas Browne, the author of the *Religio Medici*, was at Winchester first, it is said (*The Wykehamist*, July 1893), as Commoner, though as from 1616 to 1623 he was a Scholar, and admitted such at the age of ten, his Commoner experiences must have been limited. From Winchester he went as a Fellow Commoner to Broadgate Hall, now Pembroke College, and then on the "grand tour," not as a theologian or a grandee like most of his predecessors and contemporaries, but as a student of medicine. He studied at Montpellier and Padua, and became an M.D. at Leyden. On his return to England he settled down in practice at Norwich, and in the very year that the Civil War broke out puzzled and delighted the world with the *Religio Medici*. He was rather afraid of the effect of the book himself, as the first publication

was alleged by him to have been surreptitious; but as he afterwards published it through the same publisher, it has been fairly presumed that this was only the pretence of a coy or timid author. It created a delightful commotion in the religious, which was then the whole, world, the author being claimed by every school of theology from Romanism to Free Thought. But it missed not the note of distinction of being included in the *Index Expurgatorius*. It is now more commonly found among lists of the "Hundred best books," though perhaps more talked about than read.

In 1646 Browne published his *Pseudodoxia Epidemica* or *Vulgar Errors*, a most entertaining book, a marvellous mixture of learning and ignorance, scepticism and credulity, which discusses the oddest farrago of curiosities that was ever collected, and may be read even nowadays not without profit. For instance, our French friends in their anti-Dreyfus agitation might usefully study the chapter (iv. 10) "that Jews stink." The exposure of others' errors did not prevent the author from testifying in court his belief in witchcraft. In 1658 came the *Urn Burial*, an antiquarian work largely taken up with the eternal problem of cremation and earth-burial. Its chief charm lies in its stately periods. By his will the author gave £12 towards the building of School, the foundation of which was laid, September 1683, a year after his death.

From the era of supposed destruction we have preserved to us the earliest extant Long Roll or School

List, that for 1653. It is appropriately enough the earliest School List extant of any English school.

There is indeed extant at Pocklington, in Yorkshire, a School Register, beginning on 23rd September 1650, but, like the Scholars' Register at Winchester, this is a Register of admissions only. Very startling it is to those who wish to think that the Commonwealth was adverse to schools, showing seventy-six boys of the best families in Yorkshire—Fairfaxes, Savilles, Beaumonts, Darleys, Wilberforces—admitted in a single year, and 118 in two years. (*East Riding Antiquarian Society*, 1897, p. 91.) Would that we had such a Register of Commoners at Winchester, with their ages, places of birth, and parentage. It does not, however, give the places of the boys in their classes, and so cannot be considered a School List.

The Winchester List is now printed in *Winchester Long Rolls*, 1653–1721, by C. W. Holgate, Wells, Winchester, 1899, an invaluable contribution to the history of the School. In this Roll we find *Dominus* Burt as *Ludimagister*, so that Potinger had retired from office. This helps to clear up a rather tangled confusion of dates as to Potinger's retirement and his successor's appointment. In *Wykehamica* (p. 97) Potinger is said to have resigned in 1653, and in *Annals* (p. 345) in 1652, "on account of the Puritanical innovations"; while his successor is put down in one place (p. 359) to 1653, and in another (p. xii) to 1654. It is not very likely that a man who was appointed in 1642, had gone through the visitation of 1649, and had taken the Engagement,

would resign on account of religion in 1652 or 1653, when there were no particular innovations. He had held for ten or eleven years, the extreme normal period, and he retired to Martock, in Somerset, where the Rev. A. P. Wickham informs me that there are still many of his name. It is certain that his successor was appointed before September 1653. That successor was our friend William Burt, the Parliamentary Master of Thame School. His rule as Master was short. In 1658 Harris died, and Burt took his place as Warden. At the Restoration he found no difficulty in paying his respects to Charles II., and retained his position till he died in 1679. He still retained his views, however, as in 1661 a complaint is made at a Scrutiny that surplices were not worn, and that Scholars ordered to wear them do not; and in 1662 (*Annals*, p. 351) "a scholar named Hunt has not obeyed the Warden's order that he shall wear a surplice, and the Warden hath not punish'd him for contumacy." No doubt the excellent Warden shared the views expressed a couple of centuries later, when the question of preachers wearing surplices was raging—

For me I neither know nor care
Whether a parson ought to wear
A black dress or a white dress,
Plagued with a trouble of my own,
A wife who preaches in her gown,
And lectures in her night-dress.

Our earliest Long Roll of 1653 is, like its successors at the present day, in Latin. Unlike the modern ones,

it unfortunately gives no Christian names (as, indeed, the present ones do not to the Masters and Fellows), while College and Commoners are in separate lists. There are no less than three lists of the Scholars—first, in school order, then in order of seniority of admission, and thirdly, arranged according to chambers. In later Rolls the number of his chamber is prefixed to each Scholar's name. In the school order there are twenty-three scholars in VI. Book, a line being drawn after the eighteen Prefects, eighteen in V. Book, twenty-three in IV., and six in Lower Fourth. Then follow the Commoners in College, seven in number, of whom two are described as "at the Master's table"—i.e. Fellow Commoners—and five, including two Stanleys, sons of the late School-master, another son being in College, as "at the table of the Scholars (*puerorum*)."

A Love, a son presumably of Nicholas the Parliamentarian, is among these last. The choristers are inserted between the Commoners in and out of College. These last only number fifteen, among them being a Fiennes. Next come four names, headed *Domini Ludimagistri*. One of them was named Burt, and they no doubt lived in the Master's chambers. Then follow the Rolls, *ad Oxoniam*, the names of those elected to New College, if a vacancy should occur during the year, and *ad Wintoniam*, those similarly elected to Winchester. This last list consists of ten names, headed by that of Nicholas, afterwards Warden, and comprises three of the Commoners. The Roll for New College did not coincide either with the order in the School or that

of seniority, so that it would seem to have been decided really on examination. One noteworthy point in this Long Roll is that the use of *senior* and *junior*, to denote the elder and younger of two of the same name in College, or Commoners, had already become fixed. There was a difference, however, for if the two were not both in College or both in Commoners, they were not distinguished as *senior* and *junior*, but the boy in College was called, *e.g.*, Phillips *puer*, and the one in Commoners, Phillips *Commens.*, *i.e.* *Commensalis*. Mr. Kirby (*Annals*, p. 112) appears to suggest that *major* and *minor*, the terms in use at Eton, were the old terms at Winchester. In fact, in the early *Bursars' Rolls* both sets of terms are used indiscriminately. Thus in the Hall Book for 1401-2 there were two pairs of brothers in College—two *ffaringtons*, and two Bowyers. In successive weeks different Stewards of Hall called the *ffaringtons* *sen.* and *jun.*, and *ma.* and *mi.*, while in one week a Steward writes *sen.* and *jun.* for the Bowyers and *ma.* and *mi.* for the *ffaringtons*. Whether it was on purpose that Eton clung to *ma.* and *mi.*, while Winchester kept *sen.* and *jun.*, I do not know. It is certainly curious that precisely the same thing should have happened about the terms Prefects and Præpostors, and also Commoners and Oppidans, both which terms, formerly used indiscriminately at Winchester, are now used exclusively at Winchester and Eton respectively. The number of Commoners is so small that it almost suggests that at this time, day-boys having being dropped, the College

did not hold itself out to receive any one but Gentlemen Commoners, and a few who came in the hopes of getting into College. Of the twenty-five Commoners five had the same names, and were no doubt relations, if not brothers, of boys in College.

After the list of the servants, in which the two cooks and the manciple receive the title of *Dominus* like the Fellows, comes a list of "officers." It is headed by the Prefect of Tub, who is neither head of the School nor senior in standing, but as low as eighth in the former, and nineteenth in the other; then comes Prefect of Hall, who inhabits, as now, Sixth chamber, but is fifth both in school and seniority order. The Prefect of School in this roll was Turner, afterwards Bishop of Ely, who was twenty-seventh in seniority, seventh in School, and thirteenth on the roll for New College. Next, under the heading *Pueri Domini Ludimagistri*, came the head of the School, second on the roll for New College, Thackham and Fauchin, who is thirteenth in the School; and under *Pueri Domini Hypodidascoli* appears one boy only, Low, second in the School, and eighth on the roll for New College. Were the two head-boys called Head-master's and Second-Master's "child" respectively, or had they some connection with Commoners as Tutor or Prefect? The name does not occur in the later Long Rolls; and in the third extant, that for 1672, of the three senior Commoners out of College, two are definitely described as Prefects. Last on the Roll of 1653 came two *Prefecti Templi*, or Prefects of Chapel.

The Roll of 1661 included, as Mr. Kirby has pointed out, a Chief Justice, Sir Edward Herbert; John Trenchard, Secretary of State to William III.; a Bishop, Thomas Manningham, Dean of Windsor, and then Bishop of Chichester; and William Harris, the most successful Headmaster, as far as numbers were concerned, of the century.

In 1668 Commoners numbered thirty-six, of whom thirty-one were out of College, headed by "the Lord of Falkland," the son of the Laodicean who fell at Newbury. A more distinguished name, third on the list of Commoners in College, was that of Otway the poet, the only first-class poet that Winchester has ever produced, but being a dramatist no one reads him now. His career was of the shortest and stormiest. He went up to Christ Church, Oxford, in 1669, at the age of seventeen, being shortly followed by his friend Lord Falkland. After two years he left Oxford, without taking a degree, for London. He tried acting as a profession, but failed on his first attempt through nervousness. He then turned to play-writing. His *Don Carlos* in 1676 "got more money than any preceding tragedy." Two years later a comedy called *Friendship in Fashion* was also a great success, but such was the style of the day, that when it was reproduced in the not too squeamish times of 1750 it was found so indecent that it was hissed off the stage. Meanwhile Otway had fallen desperately in love with his leading lady, Mrs. Barry, who deserted him for the Earl of Rochester. He then took a commission in the army, and went to Holland as an ensign, but found the hard-

ships intolerable. On his return in 1680 plays followed in quick succession. The tragedies *The Orphan* and *Venice Preserved* were acknowledged masterpieces. Sir Walter Scott, indeed, says that they in

scenes of passionate affection rival at least, and sometimes excel, those of Shakespeare. More tears have been shed probably for the sorrows of Belvidera and Monimia than for those of Juliet and Desdemona.

But Otway had not the staying powers of Shakespeare. He loved punch not wisely but too well, and died like so many of the Elizabethan dramatists, in penury and drink, quite "in the worst inn's worst room" style of the period, at the Bull Inn. If it were not that Otway himself was the product of a quiet country parsonage, one would say that it were better to be one of the common herd of quiet country parsons than to earn fame like this.

For some years from 1668, the number of Commoners ranged about forty-five. The Rolls included a great many aristocratic names, and there appears to have been little difference between the Commoner in and out of College. In 1675 Mr. Pierpoint headed the in-College, and the Earl of Wiltshire and Mr. North (Lord Campden) the out-College list. The nomenclature is various, as sometimes the gilded youth appears as Mr. Stukeley, Mr. Pierpoint, at other times as plain Pierpoint or Stukeley. Ashleys, Digbys, Wallops, Thistlethwaites, Trenchards, Stanleys abounded. The spelling of names remains devious. We could hardly divine Clutterbuck under Clotboock, or Killingworth under Kilnworth, or know that Pawlin and Polling were the same name.

In 1679 there was a double change. The Warden of New College, Nicholas, succeeded Dr. Burt as Warden of Winchester, while the Head-master, Beeston, succeeded Nicholas as Warden of New College. It was a strange thing, the head of "the greater light" thus descending to rule "the lesser light." But the precedent thus set by Nicholas was followed by his successors in the Wardenship of New College for nearly a hundred years, and was founded on solid and substantial reasons. In the whirligigs of time the post of Warden of Winchester, which was intended by Wykeham to be only half as valuable as that of New College, had become the richer manger—perhaps because the Scholars of Winchester were easier to rob of their augmented commons than the Fellows of New College.

Under Warden Nicholas and Head-master Harris the number of Commoners went on increasing. In 1680 there were seventy-three, of whom the six in College were all "Mr." The Warden appears to have boarded some of them; for in the List for 1681, out of seventy-nine altogether there is a new division besides those in College and out, of those "in the Warden's house," Mr. Grivell (Greville), Sir Thomas Hesillrigg (Hazelrigg), and Mr. Wyndham. In 1684, for some strange reason, those in College are omitted, while next year they appear under the name of "Gentlemen-Commoners," headed by Lord Ashley, afterwards Earl of Shaftesbury.

The rising numbers caused the first great change in the outward appearance and arrangement of College

SCHOOL, BUILT 1687.

From photograph by Mr. J. Abley.

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since Wykeham's time by the building of a new, now old and disused, school. It was begun in September 1683 and finished in June 1687, and cost a few pence under £2600. The money was found by subscription, the largest subscribers being William Pierpoint, Earl of Kingston, "formerly a Commoner," and Richard Jones, Steward of the College, "formerly a child." But the greatest donor was the Warden, who made up the deficiency in subscriptions to the amount of no less than £1477. The figure of Wykeham over the door is a later gift by Caius Gabriel, father of Colley Cibber, made for the purpose of procuring the entrance of Lewis Cibber into College (*Annals*, 346). The building is both inside and out a magnificent specimen of its style and time, and was still described in 1821, in Carlisle's *Endowed Grammar Schools*, as the finest schoolroom in England. Unfortunately at the back, now its most conspicuous side, because open to Meads, it is made hideous by Ball-court, an open racket-court, the black, blank wall of which occupies nearly the whole space, while, to allow room for it, there are only two windows on that side. Inside it is, or rather was in my day, when still used as a schoolroom, magnificent. Its proportions are good—90 feet by 36 feet by 30 feet. It is panelled in dark oak about half-way up on three sides, and at the back nearly all the way. The coved ceiling has its cornice decorated with elaborately painted coats-of-arms of the principal donors, conspicuous among which are the three swords of the Paulets, Marquises of Winchester,

then either Wykehamists or old Wykehamists. Its other decorations and arrangements were borrowed, as has been already described, from the old schoolroom.

The building of School added a new quadrangle called School Court. There had been a court—area it is called in the old accounts—there before, but it was not of public resort. The cutting of Seventh Chamber Passage through the old School added this new area to the general pile. The quarters of the “children” were proportionately enlarged by the addition of a Seventh Chamber to the original Six. This, however, did not take place till 1701, when, under a new Headmaster, Cheyney, the number first appears in Long Rolls as the number of a chamber. I strongly suspect that Seventh Chamber was until then used to find additional accommodation for Commoners, and thus Warden Nicholas was able to get repaid some of his £1400.

The new development was very successful for a time. The numbers went on rising. In 1688, owing probably to the uneasy state of politics, there was a decline to sixty-seven, among whom Baron Guilford appears in a heading all to himself as a *Nobilis commensalis*, while D^{us}. Fiennes, D^{us}. Ashley, Tho. Putt, and Tho. Wroth Baro. (for Baronetti) appear in a separate class. In 1691 there were exactly seventy, next year seventy-seven, and in 1693 eighty-six, of whom two are described as Prefects, and were apparently the only Commoners in VI. Book. This made the whole school 156, and perhaps more, as it is not quite clear that the Roll includes

the Commoners in College. This, however, was high-water mark. Next year Commoners ebbed to seventy-nine, in 1695 to sixty-two, by 1698 it had fallen to forty, and in Harris's last year, the year 1700, to only twenty-eight.

What had happened to cause this reaction does not appear. Indeed, until Mr. Holgate brought together the Long Rolls of the period, the rise and fall does not seem to have been known. The rise may be accounted for by Charles II. having taken a great fancy to Winchester. Not, perhaps, having pleasant memories of Whitehall, he began in 1682 preparations for a gorgeous palace there, on part of the site of the old castle. Wren was the architect, and it was to have a great dome in the central building, two smaller domes in the wings, with a splendid staircase on marble pillars presented by the Grand Duke of Tuscany. From the great eastern gate a broad street, falling in a succession of terraces, was to be carried in a line to the west front of the Cathedral. But only the central building and wings were built. When Charles died in 1685, the "King's House" remained only a splendid torso. Queen Anne gave it to her husband, but he in turn died before the house was made habitable. In 1779 it was an unsanitary prison for prisoners of war, in 1795 a French refugee clergy house, and since 1796 was used as barracks. They were burnt in 1893, and the bare walls still (1898) stand, a hollow shell. No doubt the frequent visits of the Court, and the intended palace, made the golden youth flock to Winchester School, just as

the propinquity of Windsor attracted them to Eton, and of many palaces to Westminster.

It was during one of Charles's visits to Winchester that a famous Wykehamist, Thomas Ken, Fellow of the College and Canon of the Cathedral, came into notice by refusing his prebendal mansion to "poor Nellie"—the famous Nell Gwynne, the founder of the Richmond dukedom and the ancestress of Charles James Fox. Ken was as thorough a Wykehamist as could be imagined, having been at the school for some eleven years, as a Commoner from 1646 to 1651, and as a Scholar for six years more, proceeding to New College in 1657, and returning to Winchester as a Fellow there in 1661. His name, THO. KEN, 1656, is carved in large letters on one of the mullions of a window on the west side of the cloisters. He became Bishop of Bath and Wells in 1684. It was a proud day for Winchester when four years later, on the 18th May 1688, it could claim as its sons three out of the seven Bishops who signed the petition to James II. against the Declaration of Indulgence—Ken, Francis Turner, Bishop of Ely, and William Lloyd, Bishop of St. Asaph, Commoner of New College, and no doubt of Winchester also. Six of them had to beard James himself with the paper. Lloyd was chosen to present it. The scene is described by Macaulay in *History of England*, ii. 150.

"This," said James, "is a standard of rebellion."—"We rebel!" exclaimed Turner; "we are ready to die at your Majesty's feet."—"Sir," said Ken in a more manly

SCHOOL WITH SCOBs, 1687-1885.

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that the petition seemed to him to be such as subjects who think themselves aggrieved are entitled to present, and therefore no libel." The fourth, Powell, followed him, and condemned the dispensing power. After an all-night sitting the Bishops were acquitted by the jury. Holloway was dismissed from the Bench on the 9th of July; but six months later James dismissed himself from the throne.

Ken and Turner afterwards, as Non-jurors, showed themselves as sturdy in their conduct and principles when they were unpopular, as they had on the day when London and Westminster went into ecstasies over their acquittal.

XXIV

DOM. BURTON

IN the eighteenth century Winchester School attained the height of glory and the depths of depression. The century did not open auspiciously. The year 1701 was marked by the accession of Thomas Cheyney as Headmaster in place of the erst successful Harris. At first the number of Commoners marked some slight improvement, going up from 28 in 1700 to 49 in 1702, and staying at about 50 for several years. In 1710 the tide turned, and by 1717 there were just 20 Commoners in all, including at the head of the roll "His Grace ye Duke of Brandon and Hamilton."

The cause of the fall was probably the struggle which arose between Warden Nicholas and the Fellows over an election of a Fellow in 1708. It resulted in a general attack on the Warden's privileges and perquisites, in legal proceedings before the Visitor, and in Chancery; and got into print in a lengthy *Plea of the Fellows* in 1711. Apparently by way of annoying the Warden, the Sub-Warden and Bursars enlarged the allowances to the Scholars, and the proceedings thereon give us some curious information on the internal economy of the place (*Annals*, p. 380).

The amount of beer allowed was so much to each

table at three pints a head—a pint at dinner and at supper, and something less than a pint at breakfast, “besides beavor-beer after dinners and suppers in summer-time.” The “House” kindly intended to have it divided equally by giving each of them a separate quantity in a copper pot by itself, which was provided for the purpose; but the Scholars showing an unbecoming dislike of this provision, the old practice was reverted to. It was like the innate conservatism of boys to object to the new arrangement, just as in after days, when plates were introduced instead of trenchers, the plates were solemnly smashed *uno ictu* by being hurled on the floor. The “Scholars’ commons” were certainly lean before the changes. For breakfast they had beef-broth every day of the week “made of the dinner beef,” so that all the goodness was taken out of it. For dinner they only had hot meat on Sundays, when they had roast mutton and beef, and for supper boiled mutton and broth. On other days they had “boiled beef cold or sodden in water” for dinner, and “boiled mutton and broth” for supper. On Friday and Saturday the medieval fasts were still observed. The boys had no breakfast (except perhaps bread); nothing for dinner but cheese and butter; on Friday no supper, and on Saturday only “baked pudding made up with water.” Under the new régime they got hot boiled beef instead of cold for dinner on other days. On Fridays and Saturdays there was added broth for breakfast; baked pudding “made of flour, bread, fruit, spice, and milk,” and butter for dinner; for supper,

on Friday, boiled mutton without broth, and on Saturday, the same with broth. The total cost was increased from 1s. 9½d. a week to 2s. 0½d. a head. For bread they had half a pound at each meal. The "diet in Lent" and on Vigils and the like was improved by allowing the same as at other times, this being partly borne by what is saved from the Commons upon Gaudies, which are now made equal only to those on Sundays." Dr. Harris had made the first inroad on the Lenten diet, by giving "£200 for that use." The tipping system was in full vigour. A "child" had to pay in fees at his first entrance 16s. 6d., the "Præpostor of Hall" and of School each getting half-a-crown; another half-crown went in "chamber-stock," the furniture of chambers, the rest going among the College servants. They had ceased to make their own beds, and paid 1s. a quarter to the bed-maker instead. Charity was enforced by 1s. a quarter to the Almoner. "After Whitsuntide" the poor child had to pay 1s. for his own flogging, "Rod-money"; 6d. "Window-money"; and 9d. "Nutting-money," so that presumably, as at Eton, there had been an annual outing for nut-gathering in September. A new "Præpostor" or Prefect was taxed 3s. 6d. for the two butlers of bread and beer, and a new Officer £1. A Commoner had much the same fees to pay, with "fire-money" and "candle-money" in addition. Various benefactors, like Thomas Chandler in 1460, had endowed the Scholars with candles. A Commoner paid twice as much for nutting-money. "New Commoners and Noblemen" paid double fees.

Before the contest was over Warden Nicholas died, and was succeeded in 1712 by Thomas Braithwaite, who was, like his predecessor, Warden of New College. The change was not for the better. Braithwaite found 39 Commoners, in 1714 there were 42. Then came the Jacobite rebellion, and Winchester College or its Warden were suspect. We have not the numbers for 1715, but in 1716 they fell to 31, and next year to 20.

The Grand Jury of Hampshire on March 6, 1714 (*Annals*, p. 386), presented the College "Warden, Fellows, Master, Usher, and children for their known disaffection and corruption of manners."

It being notorious that the late unnatural Rebellion and present threatened Invasion are the effects of Prejudice and bad Educacion . . . being credibly informed that the Scollars of that noble Foundation, commonly called Winchester Colledge, are now taught to emulate each other in factions and party Principles, by being told they are to be distinguished and preferred according to their several degrees of zeal; and they do frequently treat most as are known to be well affected to the King's Government with opprobrious language and ill-usage (particularly several Justices of the Peace) with impunity from their Masters and Governors; from whence it is naturall to infer that their said Masters and Governors are also inclined to faction and disaffection.

The heinous crime of which they had been guilty in hooting not only one but several J.P.s no doubt deserved the severest reprobation; though whether this thunder was followed by any lightning we are not informed. Yet that the School had a bad name for Jacobitism is clear.

Two years later, 12th August 1718, the Secretary of State found time to spare from his severer labours to write to the Warden for the whipping of "many of the youths of Winchester School, and particularly those upon the Foundation," for going to Cathedral on the King's Accession Day

in a very extraordinary and indecent manner, with Rue and Time on their Breasts, and some with mourning hat-bands on their hats, by which it appears that these poor children, instead of being taught their Book, and instructed in the principles of the Church of England, have learnt somewhat to concern themselves in disloyal party divisions and distinctions. I give you this notice of it that you may direct them to be whipt, and take care that no enormity of this kind may be committed there for the future.

The Warden's answer was, that they did not go to Cathedral till after celebrating the Accession in Chapel.

There were seven or eight of them, little boys, had rue and time in their hats, for which they were punished by the Master, according to the method in the school. None of the upper boys, or Præpositors, as we call them, had any.

The Warden pleads guilty to three or four hat-bands for relations—some convenient uncles, no doubt; and, says he, "I am very well informed they that were whipt knew it not to be a party badge." Never did such an innocent tribe suffer the rod, except, perhaps, when Keate of Eton whipped the boys sent up to him for Confirmation.

It seems most probable that this violent and notorious Jacobitism was mainly responsible for the fall in numbers.

In 1724 there was a clearance. Warden Cobb gave place to Warden Dobson, and John Burton succeeded Cheyney as Head-master. The improvement was immediate. They found 35 Commoners. In 1727 these had risen to 46, in 1730 to 87, in 1732 to 111, in 1734 to 123. This was high-water mark, never again reached till 1804. The quality of the attendance, or rather the attendance of the quality, improved with the quantity. Both quantity and quality had been as good in the previous century, and these produced the new, now old, School. The increase under Dr. Burton was destined to produce even greater developments in school and school buildings. Dr. Burton seems to have determined to make the increase of numbers permanent, and to secure at least some of the profit to himself by building a new house under his own control for the reception of Commoners. In *Wykehamica* (p. 127 *seq.*), followed by Mr. Kirby (*Annals*, p. 133), he is represented as having occupied the Spital (the old Sisters' Hospital), and rebuilt or remodelled the whole quadrangle, which afterwards became known as Old Commoners, making the whole one boarding-house under the Head-master. So he has been called "the Founder of Commoners"—a misleading misnomer.

It is probable that even before the Dissolution Commoners were boarded in this Hospital, just as a dozen boys attending the High or Cathedral Grammar School at Exeter were lodged in St. John's Hospital there.

But of this there is no evidence. The Sisters' Hospital being part of the Cathedral Priory, came to an end with it in 1539. Its site and buildings passed with the bulk of the property of the old Chapter of Prior and Monks of St. Swithun to the new Chapter of Dean and Canons of Trinity, founded by Henry VIII. But the Sisters and the Hospital were not restored. The buildings were let out piece-meal to private persons. They consisted of a Chapel, next to College, where the Entrance gateway to "Commoners" and the Head-master's house now stand, and of the Hospital itself, on the other side of a courtyard, where Moberly Library now is. The survival of the name of Cloisters, even in the New Commoners of Dr. Moberly's time, seems to show that the Sisters' Cloister, giving a covered way from the "Spital," as it was called, to the chapel, also survived. From at least 1597 the Spital was let to persons connected with the school—Guy Dobbins, a Fellow; Leonard Bilson, Warden Bilson's son; then to William Trussell, Usher; and to divers other Head-masters and Ushers. From 1687 to 1715 it was in the hands of W. Croker, M.D., and his widow. Similarly the Sisters' Chapel was let in 1605 to Arthur Harmer (*sic*), no doubt a relation of Head-master and Warden Harmar; in 1662 to Richard Osgood, a Fellow, then to his widow; in 1714 to Mrs. Fiennes, the widow of another Fellow. Both these houses were, no doubt, used as Commoners' boarding-houses; and, as Mr. Adams suggests, the ups and downs of the number of Commoners may partly be due to the opening

and closing, and, we may add, the popularity or unpopularity of these Dames' houses. No Head-master seems ever to have held the chapel till 1804. Then and until New Commoners was built in 1844 it was called Wickham's, apparently from Dr. Wickham, the College physician, ancestor of the one that now is, who held it from 1794 to 1801. As "Wickham's" it was known to Mr. Adams, and was until its destruction in 1844 simply the old chapel added to and altered to fit it for a dwelling-house. It is certain, therefore, that the Sustern Chapel, though an important part of "Old Commoners" in the nineteenth century, was no part of Dr. Burton's domain or reconstruction.

It is also certain that when Dr. Burton came to the Head-master's throne in 1724 and for some years afterwards he did not, nor did the Commoners proper, live in Commoners. They lived in College. In 1724 (*Annals*, p. 392) the College passed a resolution that "either Dr. Burton or Mr. Eyre shall constantly reside in the College, dividing the time equally between them, so long as Mr. Eyre continues Usher." Now that Eyre, not Burton, lived outside College seems proved by Eyre's being the tenant of the Spital from 1720 (*Adams*, p. 465); while Charles Blackstone in the *Benefactions Book* records (*Adams*, p. 124) that Burton "in 1727 expended a considerable sum in new buildings in the School-master's lodgings, and in repairing and ornamenting the old." The new part that he built was the back part of the Second-master's house, with the three picturesque red gables, seen from the court between the

Head-master's house and Moberly Library, formerly called Commoners, and afterwards Moberly's Court. In *Annals* (p. 132) a distinction is drawn between the *Commensales* or *fili nobilem* of the statutes and the "Head-master's young gentlemen," as to whom counsel was asked to advise whether their being admitted as Head-master's boarders would subject the College brew-house to excise duties. But they were one and the same, as appears from a letter written on 21st October 1731 (*Political and Social Letters of a Lady of the Eighteenth Century*, edited by Miss E. F. D. Osborn, p. 45. London, 1890). Mrs. Osborn, the lady in question, writing from Chilbolton, about eight miles from Winchester, to her brother Robert Byng, M.P. for Plymouth, gives a most pleasing picture of the life of the *fili nobilem* who then frequented Winchester—

You that are in the midst of the Beau Monde and think of nothing but Foreign Dukes, etc., will not be entertained with what I can relate from hence, which only consists of the pleasure of the Field, where last Monday we were particularly well pleased. For by invitation we had Dr. Burton, the Master of Winchester School, and his ten young noble-men's sons that live with him, for which he has £200 a year for each, and is as a private governour to them, and they also have the advantage of a publick school at the same time, which surely must be a fine way of educating them.

These with four other young gentlemen of the School met us in the field a-hunting. They and their attendance and ours made in all forty people, and after very good sport all came home to dine here. Indeed, I have not seen a finer sight than those boys and their master together.

Lord Deerhurst and his brothers Coventrys, Lord Ossulston, Lord Brook, Master Duncomb, and Sir Robert Burdet, Master Greville, Master Wallop (Lord Lymington's son), also Lord Drumlanrich, the Duke of Queensberry's son, who is under his peculiar care, though not in the house, because he would not exceed his fix'd number.

Now the portraits of all the boys mentioned, except Master Duncomb and the elder of the two Coventrys, were given by Dr. Burton's will in 1774, with a direction that they should "hang in the School-master's great room," the present Second-master's dining-room, of which, though their gay colours are somewhat faded, they still form a most interesting ornament. In 1733 the distinction between Commoners in College and other Commoners still appears in the Long Roll for that year; and according to Mackenzie Walcott's copies of Long Rolls, contained in the British Museum, is traceable till 1736. In 1739 a quarrel broke out between Hostiarius Eyre and Dr. Burton, and the former among other gravamina, asked the Warden and Fellows—

Have I a right to the chambers in the College assigned to me by the College, but possessed by Dr. Burton without any leave ever asked?

The Head-master then occupied the old joint chambers of the Head-master and Usher and the Commoners' chamber. The quarrel arose through Burton having said that "the Scholars, at the Usher's end of the School, do not make due progress in their learning." To remedy this he had introduced an Assistant-master, Ashley by

HEAD-MASTER'S HOUSE, BUILT c. 1748.

From drawing in possession of the College.

name, without Eyre's consent or knowledge. Two Commoners being "taken from the Usher's end of the School and sent to Ashley's," the outraged Usher, missing them in School, went in pursuit, and the boys "stamped downstairs" in Mr. Ashley's hearing. What stairs? School had none. Mr. Kirby reasonably conjectures that Mr. Ashley was teaching in the Commoners' chamber over Fifth. Eyre resigned as the result of the quarrel, and was succeeded by Samuel Speed, who also became tenant of the Spital. Dr. Wooll in his *Biographical Memoirs of the late Dr. Joseph Warton* (London: T. Cadell & W. Davies, 1806), says (p. 30), that "in the year 1755 he (Warton) was, on the resignation of the Rev. Samuel Speed, elected Second-master of Winchester School, with the management and advantages of a boarding-house"; and on p. 54 tells us that "the sons of a prime minister were in his boarding-house while he was Second, and the heir-apparent of a secretary of state while he was First Master of Winchester College." In 1756 his name duly figures as tenant of the Spital in Mr. Adams' list (p. 465). At least as late, then, as Dr. Warton's Head-mastership, the Second-master lived in a separate and independent boarding-house, the Spital.

In the Spital precincts Dr. Burton occupied only the "Sistern houses"—out-houses seemingly—"so much of them as is not already demised to other persons," let to him (as Mr. Madge, the Cathedral Librarian, informs me) by the Chapter on 25th November 1748, and again 20th June 1759. Instead of these he built a new and,

probably, superior boarding-house, with a house for the Head-master. That is all he did. It was no doubt a great improvement. The new house, filling up the front to the street, converted the whole into "Commoners' College." In the end the Head-master's house, like Aaron's rod, swallowed up its rivals, and with the Chapel and the Spital, became "Old Commoners." But that was not till long after Burton's time. The title of "Founder of Commoners" is, therefore, quite inapplicable to Burton, or only applicable in a very limited sense.

In 1737 there were 93 Commoners, including the Duke of Richmond's eldest son, Lord March, the Marquess Clydesdale, the Duke of Queensberry's eldest son, Lord Drumlanrig, Lord Elcho, Lord Charles Douglas, Sir Richard Wrottesley, Sir Richard Bamfylde, and many other "great" people. Then, perhaps because of the Eyre quarrel, a grave depression ensued. In 1740 the number had fallen to less than half, 41; in 1742 to 28; while in the middle year of the century, 1750, there were 10; and in 1751 just 8 Commoners. Not until 1756, when Dr. Warton came as Second-master, did the numbers rise again above 20.

The reader must be cautioned against thinking that the numbers given represent the whole School. They are of Commoners only. To get the numbers of the whole School, the 70 Scholars must be added, and also the 16 choristers until 1744, when they appear in Long Roll as a separate class, *Secunda classis*, by themselves. In the lowest depths the full number of College was always

maintained, testifying to the superior attractions of College at Winchester over College at Eton, where the miserable arrangements of Long Chamber resulted in Collegers being often reduced to less than two-thirds of the sacred seventy. The frequent falls in the number of Commoners at Winchester are paralleled at Eton, though the total number at Eton was much larger. The earliest ascertainable numbers at Westminster appear to be in 1656, when there were 241 boys in all against Winchester's 112. But Westminster mainly subsisted on day-boys, which Winchester had then shed.

The earliest Eton roll is for 1678, when there were 78 Collegers and 129 Oppidans, or 207 in all; Winchester then having 143. In 1706, when Winchester was low, the numbers were 132, and at Eton and Westminster 353 each. In 1733 Westminster had 341 and Winchester 219. Rugby is said by Mr. W. H. D. Rouse (*History of Rugby School*, p. 93. Duckworth & Co., 1898) to have been under Holyoake (1688 to 1731) "little short of 100." But the number is arrived at by estimating six years to a school generation, which is much too high. To judge from the Winchester rolls, four years would be above the mark, though the average there is brought up by the very long periods to which boys stayed in College. The highest number mentioned at Rugby before the last decade of the eighteenth century is 80 in 1777, and when James (1778-94) came there were only 52. Rugby was not a great school till James made it so, and left 245 boys on his departure.

The growth of Harrow was due to Jacobitism prevailing at Eton as it did at Winchester, and in 1721 it had 144 boys, Winchester then being down in the dumps with 114. But a long period of decline at Harrow followed; and it was not till Dr. Thackeray's time, about 1750, that the numbers again rose to 135, when Winchester had sunk to 78, the lowest number recorded since 1382.

Burton's own view of the cause of decadence is on record in some interesting letters preserved in the Stowe MSS. at the British Museum (799, p. 153), apropos of the election of Warden Lee in 1763. Dr. Burton, Joseph Warton, then Second-master, and a Fellow of New College named Phelps, who dates from Whitehall, and was apparently in the Treasury, were much exercised at the election of Lee, whom they called King Log. Dr. Burton wrote before the election to Phelps to do his best against it; and, apropos, passes in review the Wardens of his time—

I have experienced variety of governors. In Warden Dobson's time (1724–30) we were in the height of glory. In Bigg's time (1731–40), a very different man, we just supported ourselves. In Coxed's (1740–57), we sunk to nothing. In the late Warden Golding's (1757–63), we began to rise, and had he lived, I doubt not of the event, assisted by Warton's character. Lee's sovereignty will be our *coup de grâce*. If you can prevent this calamity, you shall have a statue erected or a medal struck with *Restitutor rerum* upon it.

Warton's view of the candidates, who, besides Lee, were Hayward, afterwards Warden of New College, and Sale, is not much better.

The very idea of our contemporary Lee is surely degrading. Hayward is likely to be the man. He pushes at everything, is now a candidate for a Fellowship here, and perhaps has the Mastership in view. He is connected with the Isle of Wight clan, the Oglanders, all of whom are to be entailed on the College as future Fellows. Sale is said to be more modest and unassuming. What a glorious Warden would Dr. Burton be! What an honourable and proper retreat for his old age. It has been mentioned—but too late.

Lee, however, was elected. Phelps, instigated by Warton, appealed to the Visitor to set the election aside for informality, because there was no election at the first scrutiny; and when the meeting adjourned to the afternoon, the proceedings were not commenced *de novo* with the usual formalities of the administration of the communion, reading the statutes of Elizabeth, and so forth. Phelps wrote an impassioned letter to the Bishop, asserting that the election had fallen to him by lapse, and asseverating his only interest was “to promote the best qualified person to a post upon which the future prosperity of the finest foundation in Europe so entirely depends.” The Bishop, Dr. Hoadly, however thought the point too technical, and Lee was declared duly elected. So on 15th January 1764 we find Burton writing—

On Friday I returned to my old quarters. I thought everything looked gloomy and doleful about me. . . . The very countenances of the children sympathised. . . . They have something more at heart than their leaving home.

However, though Mr. Phelps did not earn his medal, “the finest foundation in Europe” managed to survive.

Indeed in Lee's "sovereignty," which lasted from 1763 to 1789, the School returned to more than its former prosperity of numbers. As the change for the better did not take place till after Burton's own resignation in 1766, when he was seventy-four years old, and had been no less than forty-four years Head-master, it is to be feared that it was his too lengthened stay and not the rule of this or that Warden which led to its decadence.

Christopher Eyre, the Second-master, also a Canon of Winchester, and Dr. Burton each left a memorial of their prosperity. There had always been a difficulty about providing for those Scholars who did not "get off to New." To meet this Warden Dobson, with Eyre and Burton, started the Superannuates Fund, with a yearly subscription list and donations, Burton giving £10 a year and Eyre £5 a year and £100 down. In 1742 Burton and his kinsman, Bohun Fox, an old Wykehamist and Founder's kin, gave half the prebend of Bedminster, in Salisbury Cathedral, and £40 a year charged on certain rents from Commoners' College, for the same purpose. These are the Exhibitions, the names of the holders of which appear in Long Roll under the mysterious heading *Dom. Fox et Burton*, meaning Messrs. Fox and Burton. The Exhibitions are now given to those who do get Scholarships at New College as well as to those who go elsewhere.

It is interesting to trace some of Burton's "young gentlemen" who went a-hunting with him in 1731. Lord Ossulston, whose picture is given as a specimen, was dis-

A COMMONER IN 1731.

From portrait of Lord Ossulston in Second-master's House.

To face p. 383.

tinguished for his bravery in the war against Spain in 1741, and became a Lieutenant-General two years afterwards, at the age of twenty-seven. He succeeded to the earldom of Tankerville in 1753. From the picture it would appear that those Commoners wore gowns, not "black or sub-fusc," but of the gorgeous hues of their other garments, and Lord Ossulston's was plum-coloured if the painter is to be trusted. At the date of the picture and the hunt he was only fifteen. A most favourable specimen of the English public-schoolboy he was, if the painter has not unduly flattered him. Apropos of the hunting, which has been represented as an instance of the general slackness of those days in the treatment of the "young gentlemen," it is only fair to say, as Mr. Holgate pointed out in the *Wykehamist* for March 1895, that October 18 was St. Luke's Day, and therefore a leave-out day. In the infancy of cricket and football and the decay of tennis, some form of sport was the only recreation possible. The fee of £200 a year was certainly equivalent to £600 a year now, and might well include the occasional use of a horse.

Perhaps the most famous among the young men was G. W. Coventry, who succeeded to the earldom in 1751, and distinguished himself by marrying one of the two beautiful Miss Gunnings, the first recorded "professional beauties," who figure large in the gossipy diaries of the period, but whose fair fame slander itself was never able to dim. Then there was Lord Brooke, a Fulke Greville, the first Earl of Warwick of the new creation. David,

Lord Elcho, Commoner 1736, made no small stir, and perhaps did no small harm to Winchester by joining in the '45, lending Prince Charlie £1000 when he was in sore straits at the beginning, and failing to get repaid when the Prince was living in wealth and luxury at Rome. He was one of the few chivalrous and patriotic Jacobites. He forswore the Prince as a coward after Culloden; but he was too deeply implicated in the rebellion even to hope for pardon, and wandered on the Continent, an attainted traitor, for forty years.

George Pitt, Commoner 1737, created Lord Rivers, was well known as an Ambassador. Sir James Eyre, Commoner 1748, became famous by his opposition to Wilkes, refusing as Recorder of London to present the remonstrance to the King. He was deprived of his office; but he became Lord Chief Baron and then Lord Chief-Justice. Eminent in another sphere more immediately dependant on school training was Richard Chandler, Commoner 1738, Fellow of Magdalen, whose *Life of Waynflete* ranks with Lowth's *Life of Wykeham*, and who produced a great classical work, *Marmora Oxoniensia*.

XXV

A SCHOOL OF POETS

THE misfortune of poetry is, that it suffers perhaps more than any form of literature by change of fashion. It is only the very first poetical product of one age that is read, or readable, by another. So has it been with the poets of the eighteenth century. Even Pope is more quoted than read. Of the rest, Goldsmith's *Deserted Village* and Gray's *Elegy* alone have descended to us alive. Yet there were many poets and many poems of more than average merit, and high among those who were read and praised in their day stood many Wykehamists. William Somerville of *The Chase*, Founder's kin and Scholar in 1690; John Phillips of the *Splendid Shilling*, Scholar 1691; Edward Young of the *Night Thoughts*, Scholar 1694, of an older generation than Burton, have each left poems, the names of which are familiar, though their contents may not be. All three elected blank verse as their vehicle, and we do not find it easy going.

Somerville became a Fellow of New College, and was a country gentleman of Wotton, in Warwickshire, with an estate of £1500 a year, yet the pursuit of poetry

had the same fatal effect on him as on Otway and others; and at his death in 1742 we find his brother poet Shenstone writing of him—

Our old friend Somerville is dead. . . . I did not imagine I should have been so sorry as I find myself on this occasion. . . . I can now excuse all his foibles, impute them to age and to distress of circumstances. . . . For a man of high spirit, conscious of having (at least in one production) generally pleased the world, to be plagued and threatened by wretches that are low in every sense; to be forced to drink himself into pains of the body in order to get rid of pains of the mind, is a misery.

The poet may have been more interesting than the poem.

The Chase I sing, hounds, and their various breed
And no less various use,

might have attractions for a poetical dog-breeder, but he would probably be choked off when he found that he had to get through the history of the chase from Nimrod downwards.

Of John Phillips we are told that when at school his favourite employment was that of the Greeks at Thermopylæ, having his hair combed, and that he used to retire to chambers for hours for that purpose. The *Splendid Shilling*, however, by no means gives the impression of a retired or melancholy disposition, being one of the earliest and best of parodies, in the vein of Calverley. Another poem of his, *Cider*, may appeal to

the Devonian, or be useful by way of comparison to any one who is unfortunate enough to be compelled to read the *Georgics*. It is, perhaps, enough to condemn the poetic taste of the whole of the eighteenth century that poet after poet set that terrible effort of Virgil's before him as a model.

Edward Young was the son of a Wykehamist, who was afterwards Dean of Salisbury. He himself was a Fellow of All Souls'. Having pursued fortune with tragedies—*Revenge*—odes, and satires, and at least one comedy, *The Brothers*, which held the stage, and made an attempt (unsuccessful) to get into Parliament, at the age of fifty he took refuge in the Church with the College living of Welwyn, Herts, and a titled wife. On her death, at the age of sixty he produced the poem which has kept his name alive. To a poet of sixty many things may be pardoned. The *Night Thoughts* may be readable at sixty. It is a sermon in verse. Sermons in stones we know are endurable to those who can find good in everything; but sermons in verse, "not men or gods or stones" can stand, and the *Night Thoughts* remain in the obscurity of their subject.

Burton's own poetical pupils included Robert Lowth, Professor of Poetry at Oxford; William Whitehead, Poet-laureate; William Collins, author of the *Ode to the Passions*; and Joseph Warton. Robert Lowth, Scholar 1731, has been often mentioned. He was Professor of Poetry at Oxford in 1741; but his claims to immortality rest now not on his poetry, but his history. His *Life of*

on

Wykeham is a model of accuracy, research, and sound judgment, coupled with a pleasant and easy style, when those qualities were sadly to seek in history, especially the history of our own country in mediæval times. He became Bishop of St. David's, then of Oxford, and finally of London from 1777 to 1787. Whitehead, in a poem addressed to Lowth on his *Life of William of Wykeham*, asked him to "indulge another bard of Wykeham's race."

From the same fount, with rev'rence let me boast,
The classic streams with early thirst I caught;
What time, they say, the Muses revell'd most
When Bigg presided and when Burton taught.

Whitehead was at Winchester from 1728 to 1735. There his

friendships were usually contracted either with noblemen and gentlemen of large fortune, such as Lord Drumlanrig, Lord Charles Douglas, Sir Robert Burdett, Mr. Tryon, Mr. Munday, and Sir Bryan Broughton. The choice of these persons was imputed by some of his schoolfellows to vanity, by others to prudence; but, says the biographer, "it might be owing to his delicacy, as this would make him early disgusted with the coarser manners of ordinary boys." (*Anderson's Poets of Great Britain*, xi. 892.)

For the son of a baker at Cambridge such delicacy of soul was indeed remarkable. Though obliged to go on hills, "go to the hills," as the biographer writes, "with other boys, he spent his time there in reading either plays or poetry." Dr. Burton exhibited a latitude we are inclined to claim as something modern; for we are told

that "while other boys were contented with showing up twelve or fourteen lines, he would fill half a sheet, but always with English. At sixteen he wrote a whole comedy." His earliest published poem, *On the Danger of Writing Verse*, contains some good reading and sound advice. Later he wrote tragedies and comedies, which were actually produced on the stage, and as Poet-laureate poured out annual New-Year and Birthday Odes through twenty years, with the regularity and the spirit of a verse-task.

William Collins's life was as unfortunate as that of Otway or Somerville. The son of a hatter at Winchester, he was a Scholar in 1733, and thence went to Queen's till he got a Demyship at Magdalen. While there he published his *Oriental Eclogues*, which have more life in them than most of the eclogues of that eclogic age. When he had taken his degree he went to London, with great ideas of poetical publication, which were wrecked by a dissipated life. He published his *Odes* in 1746. They attracted no notice, and their failure affected his mind. He fell into a sort of melancholy madness, the first symptom of which, according to Dr. Johnson, was his betaking himself to a study of the Bible. Johnson took a great interest in Collins. In December 1754 he wrote to Warton (*Wooll*, p. 229) with an interesting bit of personal history—

Let me know whether you think it would give him pleasure if I should write to him. I have often been near his state, and therefore have it in great commiseration.

In April 1756 Johnson asks "what becomes of poor dear Collins. That man is no common loss." After Collins was dead he was discovered to be a great poet. Southey said that the power of his Odes was "felt by every reader who had true poetic instinct"; and Hazlitt, that "he soars into the regions of imagination, and occupies the highest peaks of Parnassus." But his perpetual personification of everything, of the Passions, of Freedom, of Honour, of Ease and Health, of all qualities of the human mind or body, and of every abstract term, carried the fashion of the day to an excess that more than justifies to our day the neglect of his own.

Joseph Warton was one of the most interesting figures that has ever sat in a Head-master's chair. The son and the brother of a Professor of Poetry at Oxford, the brother, Tom Warton, succeeding Whitehead as Poet-laureate, Joseph Warton himself "lisped in numbers, for the numbers came." If he had not preferred the more lucrative career of teaching, he might have been a greater poet than any of the school. His earliest effort, *Sappho's Advice*, was published by him in the *Gentleman's Magazine* above the signature Monitorius, when he was a Prefect at Winchester, together with a shorter poem by Tomkyns, and a sonnet by Collins. They attracted the notice of Dr. Johnson, who wrote of them—

We pass on to three more of the lyric kind, which might do honour to any collection. There belongs to them a happy facility of versification, and the way to the scope or

striking part is natural and well conducted. Whoever ventures to prefer one, must allow the other two worthy of the same hand. The least (this was Collins's), which is a favourite of mine, carries a force mixed with tenderness and an uncommon elevation.

The sonnet that thus attracted the great critic is perhaps more readable than some of Collins's later poems—

When Phoebe form'd a wanton smile ;
My soul, it reached not here !
Strange that thy peace, thou trembler, flies
Before a rising tear.

From midst the drops, my Love is born,
That o'er those eyelids rove :
Thus issued from a teeming wave
The fabled Queen of Love.

These verses formed the foundation of a friendship with Johnson, and the admission of Warton to the celebrated Literary Club. In later years Johnson quarrelled with Warton, as with most other members of the club. A dispute took place at Sir Joshua Reynolds's house (*Wooll*, p. 98), "as I am told by one of the company," who only overheard the following conclusion of the dispute—

Johnson.—Sir, I am not used to be contradicted.

Warton.—Better for yourself and friends, sir, if you were. Our admiration for you could not be increased, but our love might.

Warton found no vacancy at New College, and went to Oriel. Here he wrote his great poem, *The Enthusiast*,

the Lover of Nature. It is of a truly eighteenth-century type, and is evidently composed in thought and style on a mixture of Pope and Thomson, while the *Ode to Fancy* is an eighteenth-century echo of *L'Allegro*. Odes were not his forte. He would have been more successful as a Locker-Lampson.

For the best of his poems are his earliest, and another in the same strain, *Ode to a Lady who Loves the Town better than the Country*. The lady answers his praise of bees, beeches, and nightingales—

“Insipid pleasures these,” you cry ;
“Must I from dear Assemblies fly
To see rude peasants toil ?
For operas, listen to a bird ?
Shall Sydney’s fables be preferred
To my sagacious Hoyle ?”

Hoyle being the eighteenth-century Cavendish on whist. Warton turned from writing to criticising poetry. He edited Virgil in Latin and English with *éclat* in 1753. This largely, no doubt, procured his appointment as Second-master at Winchester in 1755. We are told that—

Dr. Burton had been long inclined to resign his situation, could he have secured it to Mr. Speed. But parties ran high in the Wykehamical society. Speed was a Whig. . . . Dr. Burton, unable to carry his point, remained. Mr. Speed retired, and was succeeded by Dr. Warton.

Next year, spite of his boarding-house and school work, he published his Essay on Pope, dedicated to “the

author of the *Night Thoughts*." It provoked a storm, but his appreciation of Pope as a first-class poet of the second-class order has been emphatically endorsed by posterity. In 1766, on Burton's too long delayed retirement, he became Head-master. He had to meet from Pope much the same objection as has been levelled against Public School, or rather a classical, education many times since, that it consisted of "words alone." His defence is an anticipation of much recent argument.

To read, to interpret, to translate the best poets, orators, and historians of the best ages, that is, those authors "that supply most axioms of prudence, most principles of moral truth, most examples of virtue and integrity, most materials for conversation," cannot be called confining youths to words alone, and keeping them out of the way of real knowledge; and as to plying the memory and loading the brain, it was the opinion of Milton, and is a practice in our great seminaries, "that if passages from the heroic poems, orations, and tragedies of the ancients were solemnly pronounced, with right action and grace, they would endue the scholars even with the spirit and vigour of Demosthenes or Cicero, Euripides or Sophocles."

This is not, be it observed, a defence of gabbling "Morning Lines" or "Standing ups," but of declamation and recitation. Matthew Arnold wished the same system adopted, and succeeded to a large extent in getting it adopted, in Public Elementary Schools.

Wooll writes of Warton's Head-mastership—

The fame of the School under such auspices could not be otherwise than great. Whilst a far larger number of

Commoners than had been known at any former period filled the boarding-houses at Winchester, the University honours, particularly those procured by poetical efforts, were successively borne away by members of New College.

Nor is this the opinion only of an insider. Mr. Fisher, in his admirable article in the Quingentenary volume, on this century of the school life, has quoted a writer in the *Gentleman's Magazine* in 1775, expostulating with Lord North, then Chancellor of the University, against the Wykehamist monopoly of University distinction—

Is genius confined within the walls of a single college? Or have Wykehamists effectually kept Minerva among themselves by those iron rails, with which they have surrounded the present image of her?

Where, by the way, is that image gone?

The Chancellor's prize for Latin verse was established in 1769. Eleven times out of twenty-eight (1769–1798) it fell to Wykehamists. In a volume of Oxford verses published in 1761, an Epithalamium for George III., Warton wrote,

the Wiccamists (*sic*) have this time beat entirely the Westminster. There are also in number 19 Wiccamists.

The poetic tradition was well kept up under Warton. There were Thomas Russell, an early translator of German poetry, and a sonneteer; and Crowe, the son of a carpenter, a Chorister and then a Scholar, the author of *Lewesdon Hill*, whom Parr described as “the very brandy

A SCHOLAR OF 1816.
From Achermann's "Public Schools."

To face p. 394.

of genius mixed with the stinking waters of absurdity," and to whom Coleridge acknowledged his poetical debt. A famous person in his time was W. L. Bowles, elected in 1776, who wrote a monody on Warton in 1793, published a *Life of Ken* in 1830, annihilated Lord Brougham's attack on Winchester as being "a robbery of the poor" by his *Vindiciæ Wykehamicæ* in 1835, and was a Canon Residentiary of Salisbury till 1850, when he died at the age of eighty-eight. He gives in the *Vindiciæ* an account of his great-uncle, a Fellow of the College, who asked him to dinner every Sunday. This uncle lived on his Fellowship of £140 a year, of which £19. 18s. 4d. went in books, £19. 4s. 3d. in clothes, and £16 in port wine.

After dinner I had one glass of wine from a bottle, out of which, at eighty-four years of age, he indulged himself with three. The one glass of wine allowed to me, and a shilling with it, was always accompanied with a health, which he never omitted, and at the age I have mentioned I have seen him repeat it with tears in his eyes—

To the threescore and ten,
God make them happy men !

—a toast which deserves to have lived, and to be revived if dead.

There was not much amiss with a school which could produce in successive generations men like Bowles and his uncle.

Warton, though successful as a teacher, was singularly

unsuccessful as a disciplinarian. His reign was one of slackness tempered by rebellion. There were rebellions in 1770, 1774, 1778, and the last and crowning one in the year of the French Revolution, 1793.

Of the first two we have graphic accounts in the Letters of the first Earl of Malmesbury. He came of Wykehamical stock, and was a Commoner in 1762. At the age of twenty-four he was ambassador at Madrid, and won golden opinions by his treatment of Spain. He was a keen Wykehamist, finding Winchester a paradise after a brutal schoolmaster at Salisbury. In 1772 he wrote to his father that he was much satisfied "in having given the Parliamentary Journals to Winchester College rather than to Merton. I received great civilities certainly from this last body, but none equal to what I owe to the first."

His mother kept up a constant correspondence with her son, and wrote to him 23rd February 1770 (i. 194)—

This post brought Mr. Bowles a letter from his son at Winchester, giving an account of a great riot in that School. It began on some affront given, I think Monday, by the townsmen to some of the Commoners. Tuesday evening a detachment of Commoners set out, armed with bludgeons, and some with pistols. Dr. Warton, on hearing this, locked up what boys remained in the Commoners' Hall, but they forced the door open, and would join their friends. The College was also locked, but they also grew outrageous, and they were let out to join in the fray. About eight they were got home all of them, and put to bed. One townsman was wounded by a shot in his leg. Wednesday night they

sallied forth again, armed with weapons of all kinds, and fought in the churchyard. The riot was so great that the magistrates were obliged to interfere, and the Riot Act was read. At length they dispersed, and I do not hear of any further mischief than bruises. Master Bowles was not in it, but by his manner of writing he seems greatly terrified. I am sorry for all this, as the School had got into great repute, and it must give Dr. Warton infinite concern, but the spirit of riot is gone forth into all degrees.

On March 3 she wrote again—

. . . 'The riot I mentioned in my last, at Winchester, is all over, and no one expelled. It was a formidable thing, for they had several brace of pistols. It began, as I hear, by the landlord of the White Hart desiring some of the Commoners, who were drinking at his house, not to drink any more, but to go home. This gave such offence, that the next day some went and broke his windows. The man was obliged to call his neighbours to his assistance, so that brought on the battle between the townsmen and the scholars. The great hero's name is Hare; he had been expelled from Eton.

'This riot, though the cause of it shows a curious state of manners, and a slack state of discipline which could admit a boy expelled from Eton, did not do any harm apparently.

Mr. Harris, sen., went to Winchester in July "to hear the gentlemen speak for Lord Bruce's medal." This medal was one of the precursors of the Queen's medals of to-day. Two silver medals were first given by Lord Bute, presumably when his boys were in Warton's house as Second-master. In 1761 a gold and

two silver medals were given by the Earl of Aylesbury, who had been a Commoner, and continued to be given by him or his family as late as 1787. The silver medals were as now, one for English and one for Latin speech; the gold for composition. When people who had not sons in the School took the trouble to go over from Salisbury for medal-speaking, it must have been a very different performance to what it is now.

In November 1774 was another rebellion at Winchester, on a small scale, of which Mrs. Harris gives an account to her son at Berlin—

. . . *P.S.*—There has been a foolish riot at Winchester, and forty of the middle class of the Commoners have set off. Our neighbour Seaman, Dr. Warton locked up. Lord Shaftesbury stayed at school; Knatchbull went to your uncle Harris's, and is still there. Seaman desired to be sent for home, and so he was. He tells me it all arose from some boys dressing up like the housekeeper, who has a hump back, and she desired the assistant, Huntingford, to order them all to bed before their usual time. That they would not comply with. Then Dr. Warton came into the Hall; the boys hissed him, and said either Huntingford or they must quit the house. So all this trouble is owing to a silly old woman, who now, too late, repents her complaining.

A less clear account is given from a letter of T. Wood Knollys to his aunt, Lady Wallingford, in *Annals*, p. 404—

The first cause of it was that they had two masquerades among themselves in the Common Hall, which the Master hearing of went in, and, seeing a mask and a wig hanging up, made the boy whom he supposed they belonged to take

them down and burn them, saying he would have no masquerades. Upon Dr. Warton leaving the Hall all the boys hissed him. Upon that he returned and said, "So, gentlemen! what, are you all metamorphosed into serpents," and then a second time they hissed him out. And a third time he came and attempted to speak, but they reiterated their hisses, and would not give him the hearing, upon which he was obliged to leave them. This was of a Saturday, and he went immediately to Mr. Stanley's, where he stayed throughout the next day.

The quarrel then resolved itself into an ultimatum against the Commoner Tutor (G. I. Huntingford, afterwards Warden and Bishop of Hereford), that he or they should leave the school, and on Monday morning off they went. Very few had any money. "The first day they suffered much hunger and fatigue, and at night going to inns they, by leaving their watches, or other means, got credit sufficient to forward them to their several homes." The writer adds that "everybody condemns the boys." He condemns Dr. Warton, who had prospered as long as his wife lived, "she excelled, and was a downright slave as to the domestic business of providing for the boarders. In short, she was the admiration of every one, and none could equal to her."

In 1776 we find a boy removed "for tunding Philip Lys." In 1778 almost a riot took place in the case of William Moody. Mr. Kirby (*Annals*, p. 406) gives some of the letters in the case. Though Moody was a "junior," it was not a case of bullying a little boy; he had been five years in the School, and the boy

principally concerned was of his own year. The allegation was that having refused "to cut at cards a shilling a game" with Western, a Prepostor, he was afterwards found "playing at commerce for nothing" with some "little boys," and was thereupon tunded with a horse-whip. Another time going to Hills his shoe came down, when Western and another came up and drove him before them, and when he fell down wiped their shoes in his gown. The father came up and removed his son, but the College boys followed them through the Close and stoned them there.

In 1778 George III. visited the School in state and asked many questions. William Chamberlayne (of the Chamberlaynes of Cranbury Park), a Scholar, spoke the Latin oration *Ad Portas*, while Lord Shaftesbury, a Commoner, delivered some English blank verse written by Dr. Warton (*Wool*, p. 163), which reflects small credit on its composer. If Mrs. Harris's account of Lord Shaftesbury five years before is to be relied on, Dr. Warton had better have trusted to his pupil.

June 9, 1778.

. . . Lord Shaftesbury is now here. He, his brother and sister, are three most delightful children, all sensible and good-humoured. Lord Shaftesbury has the greatest command of language and well-chosen words I ever heard in any *man*, with an amazing memory ; at the same time, all the vivacity and tricks of a schoolboy.

This Lord Shaftesbury came of a family that had been at Winchester for generations. Whether the first



EFFIGIEM SERVE IN VIS SPECTARE PROBARI
 QUISQUE M. R. P. C. OCTIUS PASCIT IMAGO TUD
 PUNCIUM OS QUOCUNQUE CIBO JUVILA SERAT
 SAC HERRA CONSUMIT DE PLAGA. ARCTA PREMIT
 DAT REINVENTA ASINUS DOMINUS JUDICATUM AUREM
 CERVUS HANIT CERNIT DE RIVER PEDER
 L. EVA DOCTUS ITUM TOT BARDUS CUNTA LARONEM
 VESTIS REINVENTA EXTERA APERTA FIDEM
 ACCIDITUS GLADIO. CERNIMENTUS A IPSE
 VEL DE VEL DOMINUM QUO TUNTE HANIT

ATRUSTY SERVANT'S PORTRAIT WOULD YOU SEE
 THIS EMBLEMATIC FIGURE WILL SURVEY
 THE FORKED'S SNOUT NOT NICE IS BERT SHING
 THE PADLOCK SHUT NO ARCADES SHALL DISCLOSE
 PATENT THE A.S. HIS MASTERS WALK WILL BEAR
 MASTERSHIP BEHIND THE STAGGS PERTURBANCE
 LOADED HIS LEFT HAND JET TO LAROUR GATHE
 THE VEST HIS REATERS OPEN HAND HIS BIRTH
 GIVE WITH HIS SWORD HIS SHIELD UPON HIS ARM
 MISTERY & MASTER WILL PROTECT FROM HARM

THE TRUSTY SERVANT.

From an engraving published by J. Wells

To face p. 401.

Earl, the "little man with three names," Anthony Ashley Cooper, as Cromwell is said to have called him, was at Winchester, in the absence of records, remains unknown. The third Earl, the author of the *Characteristics of Men, Manners, Opinions, and Times*, had been at Winchester from 1683 to 1688, in the palmy days of Dr. Harris and Warden Nicholas, and had learnt there the inferiority of his former tutor, Locke, as a practical educator, whatever may have been his speculative merits. One cannot help thinking that it is to this Earl, considering the modernness of his views on religion, rather than to his political grandsire, that is to be attributed the famous definition of the religion of sensible men. "And what religion are you of, Lord Shaftesbury?" asked a lady. "Madam, I am of the same religion as all sensible men." "And what religion is that, my lord?" "That, madam, no sensible man ever tells."

George III.'s visit was the occasion of the "Trusty Servant" changing his coat to its present colours. Whether this change was ill-omened, or the Moody story did the damage, certain it is from that year Dr. Warton's star paled. "Commoners" sank from 116 to 105 in 1779, and to 77 in 1780, and so downwards to 38 in 1788. It was during this time that Sydney Smith was in College (1782-7), almost contemporaneously with the diplomatist, Sir George Rose (1781-6). Sydney Smith is reported by his daughter (*Memoir of the Rev. Sydney Smith*, 2 vols., Longmans, 1855, p. 6), "even in old age to shudder at the recollections of Winchester:

the whole system was then, my father used to say, one of abuse, neglect, and vice." But his daughter is certainly confused and inaccurate when she represents him as "one year Præpositor of the College, and another, Præpositor of the Hall," and speaks of him as "Captain of the School," a term unknown to Winchester, and tells a ridiculous story that he and his brother Courtenay received a most flattering but involuntary compliment from their school-fellows, who signed a round-robin to Dr. Warton, then Head-master or Warden of Winchester, refusing to try for the College prizes if the Smiths were allowed to contend for them any more, as they always gained them. A woman who could make such a muddle of her father's school terms, and believe that story, is not good evidence on anything. Besides, she tells another tale of his school-fellows crowding round to hear him read his mother's letters, so exquisite were they; a singular trait in a School so rough as is represented. One is inclined to doubt whether the tale of horror represents anything more than Sydney Smith's humorous exaggerations on the subject of College commons and the awful length of hours before breakfast. It does not look like a life of misery when we are told (p. 7) "that he was not only leader in learning, but in mischief."

In 1793 came the Great Rebellion, which produced Dr. Warton's retirement. His biographer, Dr. Wooll, ignores it altogether, and represents his resignation as wholly voluntary; and his second volume, which would

have contained the correspondence relating to this period, has never appeared. "What great events from little causes spring." The Great Rebellion at Winchester was due to the band of the Bucks Militia! It was in the habit of performing in the "churchyard," or Cathedral Close, which, it should be observed, is about one hundred yards from College gate. The boys were accustomed to attend the ceremony, a harmless pursuit enough, one would think. The Warden thought otherwise, and forbade it. "If one individual is peccant" (I follow the account in *Wykehamica*, p. 143), "he shall be severely punished; but if numbers are seen, the whole school shall be punished by being refused leave to dine with their friends on Easter Day just coming." Easter holidays are a modern invention, dating from the middle of the present century. A day or two after the edict the Second-master meeting a College Prefect at the band reported him, and the Warden, instead of punishing him alone, refused leave-out to the whole School. The forty Seniors resenting this breach of proclamation, bound themselves by oath to stand together, and sent a Latin letter of remonstrance, which ended, "While they had implicitly obeyed him, they hoped that in future he would act differently." To this no answer being given, except, perhaps, a verbal one through Dr. Warton, another letter was sent asking for an answer. The Warden replied—

If the Scholars are so forgetful of their rank and good manners as to insult their Warden by letters of consummate

arrogance and extreme petulance, the Warden can give no other answer than that he shall continue to refuse all indulgence till the Scholars behave better.

The boys thereupon sent to the Masters to say "they would not trouble them to go to school," expressing in the message their affection to Warton. Dr. Warton stayed at home, Goddard, the Usher, went to school and found the boys armed with clubs, and "metamorphosed into serpents." He was pelted with marbles; for it seems that marbles were then played at Public Schools. The Warden sent for the Prefects, who refused to go. The boys then took the keys from the porter, broke into the Second-master's house, and blocked the passage to the Warden's lodgings in Middle gate with seats, then entered the Warden's lodgings and kept him, Goddard, and a Fellow, prisoners in his dining-room all night. In the morning the Warden went out of College, but was followed by the boys shouting epithets, and the gates were locked behind him. He tried to hold a College meeting in the Head-master's house, but one Fellow being imprisoned in College, the quorum of four could not be obtained. The Warden then sent a message that he gave them "leave of absence till 28th April; and if the Masters approve, the scholars are desired to go home immediately." Doubting his good faith they refused to go. The Warden then went off to the Town-hall, where the magistrates were assembled to draw up a loyal address to the Crown. The High-Sheriff and others went down and tried to persuade the boys to submit. But they found Outer gate barri-

caded; while the paving of Chamber Court had been taken up and carried to the top of the tower for ammunition, and the parapet loosened ready to hurl upon the foe. Swords and bludgeons were ready, and the Red Cap of Liberty hoisted. The Sheriff thought better of it, and the revolutionists held the fort unassailed. Next day negotiations were entered into by Dr. Warton, and they were induced to accept the mediation of the Sheriff, which produced from the Warden a general amnesty, and a promise not again to punish all for the fault of one. The terms of the peace were thus a complete justification for the boys. Next day the Second-master nearly provoked the riot again by demanding the surrender of four guns taken from his house. This was said to be a breach of the amnesty, but after argument to the effect that the restitution of stolen property was not against an amnesty, they were surrendered. The Warden chose to consider the first refusal of the guns a breach of the amnesty against him, and lectured the boys on their behaviour. According to Mr. Adams, in the course of his oration he said, "Eloquar an sileam?" and received the reply "Sileas." *Anglice*, silly-ass. He told them if they did not intend to obey the Statutes they had better go. The boys asked for a copy of the Statutes and a statement as to what in particular was required of them. The Warden granted the one and refused the other. Meanwhile it was discovered that in spite of the amnesty the Warden had been writing to parents to compel their sons to apologise or resign. Dr. Budd, a physician, father of one of the

Seniors, went to Winchester, and told his son to submit or resign. The son preferred resignation. Thereupon, according to Mr. Adams, the "whole of Budd's school-fellows"—but it must surely mean the forty Seniors in College—complained in writing of the breach of amnesty, said they were bound to support Budd, and sent in their resignations. This was a fatal blunder. As Lord Randolph Churchill and Bismarck learnt to their cost, resignation, if you hold something that somebody else wants, is a dangerous game. The Warden took the resigners at their word. They wished to withdraw their resignations next day, but they were trapped. Thirty-five, says Mr. Adams, were got rid of; "determined spirits among them—a fact to which some of the sternest of the Peninsular battlefields afterwards bore witness," and names Lord Seaton and Sir Lionel Smith among them, and Sir C. Dalbiac, as one of the Commoners, expelled in company. Mr. Kirby says twenty-nine Scholars were expelled. According to his *Scholars*, thirty-one Scholars were expelled or resigned. John Colborne, Lord Seaton, however, the hero of the Peninsular battlefields, was not among those, as he did not leave for a year afterwards; while Sir Charles Dalbiac was not a Commoner, but a Scholar, admitted 1788.

Among the other expulsees were the following Fellows of Colleges—Thomas Silver, son of a Mayor of Winchester, Fellow of S. John's, Oxford, Professor of Anglo-Saxon; Richard Mant, Fellow of Oriel, Bishop of Down; John Oglander, Fellow of Merton; and John Daubeney.

The soldiers who became eminent were, besides Dalbiac, Sir Lionel Smith, General and Governor of Jamaica; and General Burgess Carnac; while the ill-luck of J. E. Lee, Founder's kin, admitted 1789, pursued him as captain of the 69th Foot, he being cashiered *male et inique*, according to the Register, for acting as second in a duel in which one of the principals was killed.

Whether any others of the rebels attained distinction in after life does not appear. The loss of New College probably did no harm to the elder ones, and Sir Lionel Smith and Sir Charles Dalbiac, no doubt, had a more exciting career than if they had "thoked" in some country parsonage. The expulsion of two Juniors, G. F. Lockley and Robert Sherson, admitted only the year before, looks like a grievous wrong.

The resignation of Dr. Warton the same year points to his being made the scapegoat of the outbreak; and his age and slackness no doubt contributed to it. But in the light of previous and subsequent events, the real culprit must be sought elsewhere.

Dr. Warton survived till February 1800, busied to the last in poetry, on an edition of Dryden, of which he published two volumes, and left other two ready for the press. A monument by Flaxman was erected in his honour in Winchester Cathedral, and presents what looks like an excellent likeness of a genial old gentleman. Of the absurd representation of a larger College boy "up to books," standing in front of the Doctor's chair, with his arm round the neck of a small Commoner, perhaps no

more need be said than that it is a pity sculptors and illustrators are not made to acquaint themselves with things as they are, instead of spoiling their work by ludicrous representations of things as they are not and could not be. It is, however, an accurate study of the small boys' trousers of the period.

XXVI

THE RIGHT WAY AND THE WRONG

IF it had been done on purpose for our ensample, there could have been no more conspicuous object-lesson in the right and the wrong ways of managing a Public School than was seen in the two first Head-masters of Winchester at the beginning of the present century. The principle of confidence between master and boys, self-government by prefects against ushers, the English system, in a word, was in force under one; the principle of mistrust and usherdom, the French system, under the other.

William Stanley Goddard, the Second-master, followed Dr. Warton as Head-master in 1793, and reigned till 1809. He is said to have been at one time a chorister. His father was a merchant, who had his boy's name entered as a Commoner, but going bankrupt, was unable to send him. The young chorister was, however, soon taken by Thomas Collins, who had succeeded Warton in the Second-mastership and the Boarding-house attached to it, as a Commoner in his house, until in 1771 he was admitted to College. He was one of the products of Warton's palmy days, though he hardly contested the palm, as Mr. Adams says, with William Stuart, Lord Bute's

son, who became Bishop of S. David's and Archbishop of Dublin, seeing that the latter was a Commoner Prefect in 1764, and in 1771 was at S. John's College, Cambridge; nor with Admiral Keats, one of the heroes of the French wars, who in 1771 was already serving on the *Bellona*. He was a contemporary with Henry Addington, Speaker and Prime Minister, afterwards Viscount Sidmouth, and Thomas Burgess, Bishop of Salisbury, who gave him a prebend there. Goddard had the distinction, like Warton before him, and Moberly and Ridding after him, of having failed to get a vacancy at New College. He was at Merton, but quickly returned to Winchester as Commoner Tutor. As Second-master he was the first who after a long interval returned to reside in the College, in the old chambers of the Masters, which have ever since been the sole possession of the Second-masters. When he became Head-master he slowly but surely restored the numbers in Commoners. He found 41 in 1793, next year there were 52, in 1796, 75, and they gradually rose to 98 in 1801. In 1804 Dr. Goddard finally completed "Old Commoners" by acquiring Wickham's or the Susterne Chapel, and connecting it with the rest of the Hospital premises as part of a single boarding-house, under the immediate control of the Head-master. This caused the numbers to rise to 133, which seems to have been the extreme number which the buildings would properly accommodate, as the numbers ranged from 137 to 132 for the next forty years, until the building of New Commoners.

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That the whole body of buildings inextricably mixed up together should thus be brought under one control no doubt contributed to good order. We get a very pleasant picture of Dr. Goddard. He had "a handsome face, with a clear blue eye and a kindly smile" (*Adams*, p. 170).

He always dined at two o'clock, before going into afternoon school, and appeared afterwards in full dress, his wig perfectly powdered, his cassock, black silk stockings, and the buckles in his shoes all in the trimmest order. But he could not abide foppery on the one hand, or neglect of ceremony on the other, in the instance of his pupils. One of them who presumed to wear silk stockings and to carry an umbrella—unheard-of dandyisms in those days—greatly aroused his indignation. One day this youth was walking through Seventh-chamber passage, umbrella in hand, when he was suddenly charged in the rear by the Head-master, and his umbrella confiscated.

He was a man of a most sensitive honour, and the high standard he maintained, and his kindly relations with his boys, and the confidence he reposed in them, set the model to Thomas Arnold, which he transplanted to Rugby.

Mr. Gale wrote of Dr. Goddard (*Adams*, p. 164)—

He has told me many a time that he owed the prosperity of the school to the influence of a few boys of very high stamp; and he instanced three of them one day—Rolfe, Inglis, Lefevre. "Sir," he said, "one is a Baron of the Exchequer, who will live to be Lord Chancellor; another is Member for the University of Oxford; and the third, Speaker

of the House of Commons. Rolfe and Lefevre are Whigs, in spite of all I can say; and yet there never were better boys."

Sir Robert Inglis, the hero of the most crusted Toryism of the Reform Bill days, has long passed away, though his place and his views were held by another old Wykehamist of the same stamp—Sir William Heathcote. He belonged to an earlier school generation (Commoner in 1799) than the others. But the names of Rolfe and Lefevre bring us very near (1803–7) to Dr. Goddard's days. As a Liberal Lord Chancellor, under the name of Lord Cranworth, Rolfe stamped his mark alike in the shortening and sharpening the processes of Chancery, and liberalising and widening the administration of schools, paving the way for the larger achievements in the same direction of the greatest Chancellor since Lord Somers, a Wykehamist also—the Earl of Selborne.

I well remember being struck by the great white head and ruddy complexion of an old gentleman, conspicuous among all others at a crowded garden party by his tall and erect figure, and being told that it was Shaw-Lefevre, Viscount Eversley, the ex-Speaker of the House of Commons. He died only the other day at the age of ninety. These, with Sir William Erle, Lord Chief-Justice, and his brother, Peter Erle, Chief Charity Commissioner in the days when the Charity Commission was first created, and was in full vigour of good principles and good works; Labouchere, first Lord Taunton; Sir Francis Baring, Chancellor of the Ex-

chequer, first Lord Northbrook; Vaughan Williams, the great judge; Field-marshal Sir Charles Yorke; Sir William Goodenough Hayter, of whom all but the Erles and Hayter were Commoners—were all of Goddard's later days, 1803-9. Their achieved successes sufficiently testify to the impetus he gave. Christopher Lipscombe (College, 1794), first Bishop of Jamaica; Philip Shuttleworth, Bishop of Chichester; James Ingram (Commoner in 1790), President of Trinity College, Oxford, who was Professor of Anglo-Saxon, and did a great deal for the first-hand study of the sources of English history when research was not so fashionable as it has since become; Sir Edward Knatchbull (Commoner), Paymaster-General; William Buckland (College, 1798), Dean of Westminster and Professor of Geology, one of the chief founders of the science—were earlier specimens of his handiwork. Of soldiers in those bellicose times, Goddard can perhaps hardly claim the chief of all—John Colborne, afterwards Lord Seaton, who, in command of the Light Brigade, largely by his own personal pluck and daring, won that bloodiest and fiercest of all battles in the Peninsula, Albuera, the turning-point in the fortunes of the French and Napoleon. The fortunate youth was in College from 1789 to 1794, and was sixteen when he got his first commission, and only twenty-one when he was a major at the battle of Aboukir Bay, under Abercrombie, where England first established a claim on Egypt by her blood. At the head of the 52nd Regiment he led the Light

Brigade through the battles of the Pyrenees. At Vera, on October 8, 1813, in a critical moment he, with only his own staff and half-a-dozen men, took a commanding position of the French, manned by a mountain battery and three hundred men, by calmly marching up to them and ordering them to lay down their arms. Next month he varied the experiment at Nivelle, and after two hundred of his regiment had fallen in the vain effort to capture a redoubt, waved a flag of truce and called on the enemy to surrender. At Waterloo he led the decisive charge against the "Old Guard." He had been ordered to retire, but, seeing the French come on, he wheeled his whole regiment into line, and drove right at them. The French broke up, and Waterloo was won. Rightly was this most brilliant soldier chosen as one of the Wykehamical saints to adorn the walls of the new museum. Sir Charles Dalbiac and Sir Burgess Carnac did like good service as cavalry officers. Sir William Myers (Commoner, 1793), less fortunate than the rest, was killed in command of the Fusiliers at Albuera. Sir Andrew Barnard (Commoner, 1793) was in command of the Rifle Brigade; and Sir Alexander Woodford (Commoner, 1796) of the Coldstream Guards, through the Peninsula and at Waterloo.

The military heroes had the advantage at the moment; but of all Goddard's scholars, the most famous name is that of the man who followed his own profession, and adopted his principles—Thomas Arnold, Head-master of Rugby. His name, not so much through Dean Stanley's

sober *Life* as through Thomas Hughes's romance in *Tom Brown's School-days*, has made the tour of the world. Mr. Adams tells a pertinent story of Arnold at school—

The future editor of Thucydides was one day set on to construe a difficult passage in his favourite author, and gave a rendering to which Goddard objected. Arnold ventured to advance one or two arguments in support of his rendering. "I see what you have been reading, Arnold; but you mistake the meaning of the authorities you quote." "I don't think I do," returned Arnold sturdily. "Very well," said the Head-master quietly; "then go to your place and we will hear some one who can construe it my way." When school was up the Doctor retired to his library, and was relating what passed there to a friend, when there came a rap, and Arnold entered, looking very crestfallen. "I have come to tell you, sir, that I have found out that I was wrong." "Ay, Arnold," said Goddard, holding out his hand, "I knew you would come."

Arnold had the advantage, after his experience of the true method of trust and self-government of boys under Goddard, to see the false method of suspicion and usher-spying under Gabell, the most potent object-lesson that a vigorous mind could receive.

There has been a great deal of exaggeration about the work that Arnold did for Public Schools in general, and Rugby in particular. John Wooll, a Wykehamist, the writer of Warton's *Life*, Head-master of Rugby from 1806 to 1832, had in the year 1818 raised Rugby to 381 in numbers, and to great repute (*Carlisle*, ii. p. 679). The Prefect system, or Prepostors, as they were called,

both at Winchester and Rugby, was in full force. As at Winchester under Warton, so under Wooll at Rugby the education was by no means confined to Latin and Greek, and the classics were made the vehicle for a general education. Arnold's real work was to introduce more Winchester notions; the exemption, *e.g.* of the Fifth Form from fagging, the greater responsibility of Prefects, and (one wonders that it had to wait so long) the exemption of Prefects themselves from flogging.

In view of the prevalent idea that Rugby was made a great school by Arnold, it is curious to find that, while he increased the fees and improved the class of boy, he diminished the numbers. He actually got them limited by resolution of the Trustees to 260. This was in imitation, one cannot doubt, of the 200 or 210 limit at Winchester. It was a mistake, or at least was very soon felt to be a mistake, and was promptly repealed in his successor's time, when the numbers were allowed to rise to close on 500. Arnold's real greatness as a school-master did not lie in the introduction of any novel ideas or practices, not even in the bringing Rugby into closer harmony with Winchester ideas and practices, so much as in his extraordinary enthusiasm and intellectual courage and the way in which he inspired others with the same enthusiasm and courage. There is no doubt that, to use an expressive Americanism, he made things hum at Rugby. Nor is there any doubt that the tone of his best pupils made a profound impression on the minds of the Oxford dons. How far if there had been no

CHANTRY AS FELLOWS' LIBRARY, 1846.

From drawing by C. Radclyffe.

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Tom Brown's School-days the great Rugby "boom" would have gone, on Arnold's impetus alone, is more doubtful. Perhaps it is in itself the most signal mark of Arnold's power that he should have made two men so different as Dean Stanley and Judge Hughes write about him as the greatest man that ever lived, and make him into the hero of the best, we may say the only, readable or truthful story of Public School life that has ever been written. At the same time, it is strange how little detailed evidence we get from Stanley's *Life* in support of any change of system or practice, how entirely the revolution attributed to Arnold is a matter of general assertion and vague reiteration.

The most signal instance of Dr. Goddard's conscientiousness—markedly reproduced in his pupil Arnold—was his action in regard to the payments made by boys in College. It had become the practice—when and how does not exactly appear—that though the Scholars were by statute and in theory free Scholars, they should pay ten guineas a year as "a gratuity" for the benefit of the Head-master and Usher. In 1776 this practice was solemnly condemned at a Scrutiny as "contrary to the obvious intention of the Founder, a grievous imposition upon the *pauperes et indigentes scholares*, and *grave scandalum* to the College itself." But the only remedy recommended was that the "children" should be admonished "to inform their parents or friends that they should not present" the gratuities for the future, while the Warden and Fellows were advised to stop the practice.

But as they could only stop it by paying the Masters "out of the revenues of the College for their labour and trouble in the discharge of their offices," that is, out of the surplus divided by the Fellows, the Injunction remained a dead-letter. The only difference made was, that in the bills the charge was entered as "gratuity, if allowed." Dr. Goddard, in 1834, some years after his retirement, gave £25,000 Consols, in trust, to pay the income to the Masters in lieu of the "gratuities," saying, "It has been such a distress of conscience to me to receive this money, I am determined no Head-master in future shall suffer the same." Dr. Goddard did not die till 1845, when the Goddard Scholarships, a prize of £25 a year, tenable for four years, formerly competed for at Christmas, now in July, and awarded to the head boy in the examination, were founded in his honour.

On Goddard's retirement, again a Second-master, Henry Dison Gabell, succeeded. He is said to have been an excellent teacher; but if the stories told in *Wykehamica* are true, a sad falling-off after Dr. Goddard. He adopted the principle not of trust, but of mistrust of his boys. A boy returning a day late on account of an aunt's illness—a suspicious reason certainly—was told, "you have been a long time fudging up that aunt of yours." And another time going round Chambers in the evening, seeing a boy with a black handkerchief round his throat for a sore throat, he whipped him in spite of all asseveration for going into bed with his clothes on. He was also credited with spying and listen-

MIDDLE GATE, SECOND-MASTER'S HOUSE.

From drawing by Mr. Percy Wulham.

ing to spies, a habit which resulted in 1818 in a rebellion of the type of that of 1793. A certain Commoner Tutor had extracted from some of the Prefects at a dinner given by him, that some of them were in the habit of "shirking-out" into the town. A particular walk was therefore forbidden, one of the two weekly "remedies" suppressed, and the place of "names' calling" on "Hills" altered in a way thought objectionable. On May 7, which should have been a Remedy, a rebellion was organised. Commoners went into College, and with the Scholars seized the keys, locked the gates, and turned out all the servants but a cook, retained to perform his office. A watch-party sat up all night in Middle gate, drinking beer and telling ghost-stories. After breakfast next morning, described as consisting of flour, potatoes, and bacon, which appeared in separate and solid layers in a would-be soup, a Canon Barnard, who had been summoned as a magistrate to read the Riot Act, asked to address the rebels. He was brought in and made an eloquent speech from a rostrum of scobs and washing-stools, but without effect. A rumour was spread that soldiers had been seen in the Warden's garden, so the door of his house was made fast, in spite of the threats of the Head-master that the fastener "should be brought on his knees before the House of Lords for imprisoning a Peer of Parliament"—the Warden was Bishop of Hereford—"in his own house." A Commoner Tutor was then sent to the window to announce "that the Riot Act had been read, and soldiers sent for; but as the authorities were anxious to prevent

injury to the College, all the boys, if they would surrender the keys, were at liberty to go home for a fortnight." The boys with headlong thoughtlessness accepted the terms, and are represented as at once rushing off townwards to go home. In the Close, in the narrow part called the Slype, or slipway, they encountered a company of soldiers, headed by an officer. The officer was knocked down. But bayonets were too much for fists, and the boys ran, pursued and captured by the soldiers, "the more willingly as they had recently had a quarrel with the boys about one of their bathing-places." The officer pursued too, "pricking with his sword one of the big College boys," Charles Pilkington, afterwards Canon of Chichester. Going past College the boys found themselves confronted by another company of soldiers with fixed bayonets, so returned to College. They were told that twenty would be expelled. Commoners had to attend names' calling in Commoner Hall. The ringleaders were summoned one by one before the Masters. The Senior Prefect, Porcher, and Alexander Malet, afterwards Sir Alexander, a famous diplomatist in German courts, who only died the other day, were expelled without parley; the second Senior, William Page Wood, afterwards Lord Chancellor Hatherley, "having gained the prize in each form," and "being only sixteen," was allowed the offer of apology. He asked what had become of the other two, was not answered, and sent into another room. From this window he talked to the others, learnt they were expelled, and at once, "as a paper had been signed

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by the first three forms that all would share a common fate," stated he must follow their example. He took his younger brother with him, though the brother afterwards went back. What a boy was this to expel! He and Hook, the famous Vicar of Leeds and Dean of Chichester, were the Grand Masters "of the Knights of the most poetical Order of SS. Shakespeare and Milton," of which Sir William Heathcote and others were Grand Crosses.

To arms, ye brave mortals, to arms,
To Honour the road lies before ye,
And the name of King Shakespeare has charms
To rouse ye to action of glory.

By His Majesty's command the above is to be the national air
in the Shakespearean Court.

W. F. HOOK, }
W. P. WOOD, } *Secretaries to His Majesty.*

The above youthful effusion, with another verse, is given in *Memoirs of Lord Hatherley*, by W. R. W. Stephens, the present Dean of Winchester (p. 16). On another page we learn how, during two of the years he was at school, his father being Lord Mayor, he found at the Mansion House and "read through the whole of Clarendon, and rose from the perusal 'with an intense aversion to Charles I.'" English literature was therefore not wholly ignored by Winchester boys even in those dark ages.

The action of the authorities against the rebels was emphatically condemned at the next Scrutiny.

The Warden and Posers required the removal of the obnoxious Commoner Tutor; they restored every boy who had been put down in the School to his former place; they publicly expressed their regret that they were unable to recall those who had been expelled. The Junior Poser (J. Poulter, M.P. for Shaftesbury) was so overpowered by the sense of wrong which could not be set right, that he is related to have laid his head down on the table in Election Chamber and fairly wept aloud with indignation.

Five College boys and 15 Commoners were the victims. It did no harm to the School, perhaps because both Eton and Harrow were also in the throes of rebellion. Rugby, too, rejoiced in its Great Rebellion of 1797, when also it enjoyed the distinction, not unique, as Mr. Rouse says (*History of Rugby School*, p. 185. Duckworth, 1898), of soldiers being called in to put it down, and another in 1822.

It is difficult to know who behaved worst in the affair, the spying Commoner Tutor, the Head-master who had employed him and destroyed the confidence of the boys by want of confidence, or the Warden, who was guilty of gross breach of faith. The palm must on the whole be awarded to the latter, who added to his Wardenship a non-resident bishopric, who had himself as Commoner Tutor been the cause of the rebellion of 1778, as Warden the cause of the rebellion of 1793, and had then been guilty of meanness almost as great as that of the breach of treaty in 1818. Well might the Winchester boys have exclaimed—

Quis custodiet ipsos Custodes?

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A letter written to the President of Magdalen at the time sheds some, if not a kindly, light on the canting pedantry of his mind—

This late rebellion was less sinful than that of 1793, because there was no oath solemnly, or rather profanely, administered among the senior boys; but it was equally outrageous and ferocious, totally unlike any acts of disobedience which we ever saw or heard of in the days of our puerility.

He may have been, as Nichols calls him, an incomparable Greek scholar, though he did produce a volume of Greek verses which did not scan, and an *Introduction to the Writing of Greek* which ran through thirteen editions before the Reform Bill “of eminent feebleness” (*Fisher*, p. 84). His conduct to the boys was certainly an unpardonable mixture of feebleness and falseness. He died at the age of eighty-four in 1832, having had the longest reign of any Warden, no less than forty-two years.

Dr. Gabell stayed on as Head-master for another five years. Let us hope that he abandoned his “t’other school” practices, and returned to the Wykehamical methods of Goddard. Of his merits and thoroughness as a teacher Page Wood and others have left their testimony. Mr. Adams relates (p. 177) a story to the credit of his pupils, that when Keble, of the *Christian Year*, was lecturing at Oriel, one of his men began reading off a passage in Latin into English but was stopped by Keble. “I must trouble you to take the author’s words

also. I can allow none but Wykehamists to read off a passage into English."

In 1823, "Gaffer" Williams, the Second-master who had been cheered during the rebellion, succeeded as Head-master. He was Founder's kin, and, therefore, and not because of any superior merit, went to New College as a Fellow at sixteen. "Gaffer" is a common term in Wales for a "grand old" boy, though whether it is a corruption of grandfather or a native Celtic term I am not aware. "Tall, powerful, and handsome, he excelled in all games, and was the hero of the cricket-field no less than of Election Chamber." He rode a white horse, believed to have been chosen because visible a long way off, so as to give warning to errant boys to get out of the way! In his time there were two small outbreaks, not against the Masters but against Prefects, both in Commoners. The first in 1827 was a personal row between a Sixth Book Inferior and a Prefect. An account of the second is given by Lord Selborne in his autobiography, marked by that detached and impartial manner which made him so great a judge (*Memorials, Family and Personal*, by Roundell Palmer, Earl of Selborne, i. 96. Macmillan, 1896).

The discipline of the School was in 1825-30 dependent on the "præfects," . . . only eight in Commoners. . . . A regulated system of fagging is the best security against tyranny by the strong and thoughtless idlers . . . whose place in it is generally low in comparison with their growth. It was from this class of boys that all the bullying of which

I ever had experience, both at Rugby and Winchester, . . . proceeded. . . . The system always worked well when the præfects had physical strength and moral courage, as was generally the case. It was only when those conditions were wanting . . . that it broke down. This happened in 1829, when I myself was a præfect. We were a weak set altogether—I do not mean intellectually, but physically—and none of us had that skill or reputation in school games which goes further than intellect. William George Ward . . . was senior præfect, . . . awkward, eccentric, and not like other boys, a butt for practical jokes rather than an object of fear. Some of the bolder juniors resolved to try their strength with him, and when one day he called for fagging in the hall a spirited and popular junior boy, he found himself defied. When he attempted by the usual means to enforce his authority, the whole mass of juniors rose in rebellion, rushing upon him, springing upon his neck, and clinging to his legs and arms, so as to make it difficult enough for him, even with the assistance of his weaker colleagues (he was himself able-bodied enough, but unskilful in all bodily exercises) to get out of the hall without suffering worse damage than the loss of his coat-tails.

The rebels had a real grievance—namely, whether boys in a particular form were or were not liable to be fagged in Hall.

Six expulsions followed. One of them was the brother of Sir Alexander Malet, himself expelled in the rebellion of 1793, and a public controversy followed between him and Dr. Williams, the press flinging itself into the controversy with the violence and ignorance which then characterised it. In the School itself

A long-continued breach of good feeling and friendly intercourse between the præfects and their juniors followed, . . . and the præfects lost, and did not in my time regain, the confidence of their kind Head-master.

As usual, Winchester washed its dirty linen in public, and bore the brunt of the attack. But similar outbreaks occurred in 1808 at Harrow, and at Rugby even later, under Tait, 1842-50. At Winchester the remedy was found by increasing the number of Prefects to twelve, two more than the number in "full power" in College.

Lord Selborne gives an interesting account of the education in his day. The relics of the old rhetoric and sophistry still survived in "Declamations."

Three boys were appointed, two to maintain or contradict, and the third to leave in doubt a thesis proposed to them, in Latin prose of their own composition, which they recited publicly in the school. A dull performance it almost always was.

The obvious reform of having the Declamations in English did not occur to the scholastic mind, and this useful engine of education is now abandoned. Classics did not exclude general information however. There were "gatherings"—

English notes compiled or collected by ourselves on certain portions of our school lessons, the choice of matter and manner being left entirely to our own taste and discretion. This exercise (which I always found interesting) led us to search for information on the subjects of which

we had been reading, wherever we could find it in books accessible to us.

“Standing-up,” practised in the Middle and Junior Parts (Fifth Book), consisting in lengthened repetitions from Latin and Greek books, were in full vigour. Lord Selborne mentions one boy who took up the whole *Æneid*, and passed successfully “through every test of his memory or his intelligence which the Second-master thought fit to impose,” for the book taken up had to be construed and understood as well as known by heart.

The most wonderful case was that of Henry Butler, a younger son of the then Earl of Carrick, who afterwards went into the army, acquired early fame by the heroic defence of Silistria, and was among the gallant Wykehamists who died in the Crimean War. He took up and passed well in all Homer’s *Iliad*.

A very brilliant set the Commoner Prefects of the Junior Part rebellion turned out to be. Three of them—Roundell Palmer, as Lord Chancellor Selborne, Robert Lowe, afterwards Viscount Sherbrooke, and Edward Cardwell, Viscount Cardwell, left their mark permanently on the institutions of the country over which as Cabinet Ministers they presided.

Lowe, the most brilliant of the three as orator and talker, is chiefly remembered now for two incidents in his career—his epigram on his unlucky proposal of a match-tax, which ruined an otherwise deservedly

high reputation as a financier, *ex luce lucellum* (which sounds like the subject or the product of a Winchester vulgus), and his having managed to extract five quarters' income-tax in a single year. But as Vice-President of the Council he organised the inspection of elementary schools, and was the first person to make that official a real Minister of Education. His system of payment by results, perhaps pushed beyond its logical limits by the actual method adopted of measuring the results, is now discredited through the outcry of the Trades Union of Elementary Teachers; but the principle is a sound, and indeed the only possible, one. On Cardwell, as Minister of War, fell the tremendous task of abolishing the system of promotion among officers in the army by purchase, in which the obstruction of the "colonels" and the House of Lords was got over by the expedient of a Royal Warrant. His reorganisation of the army on the short-service system and a territorial basis, has now stood the test of time, and been emphatically approved by the highest authorities as having made the army more efficient and more mobile than it ever was before. Lord Selborne, as Lord Chancellor, succeeding another Wykehamist Chancellor, Lord Hatherley, performed even a more difficult task in bringing harmony and simplicity into the "tortuous and ungodly jumble" of procedure in the courts of law and equity. The Judicature Acts, which made "the Courts that were manifold dwindle To divers divisions of one," were the greatest constructive achievement in the sphere

of law that has been seen since the days of Henry II. It was something of an event for Winchester when, on October 23, 1872, these three old Commoners, finding themselves Lord Chancellor, Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Secretary of State of War in the same Cabinet, together revisited their old haunts. This visit might be set off against the attacks of Mr. W. G. Ward, in his *Ideal of a Christian Church*, for, as we have seen, if Commoners wanted reform in his day, the fault lay not a little with the Senior Prefect, who so egregiously failed to rise to the duties of his office.

XXVII

“NEW COMMONERS”

GAFFER WILLIAMS retired from the Head-mastership in 1835, and five years later became Warden of New College in succession to P. N. Shuttleworth (College, 1796), made Bishop of Chichester. Williams died in 1860, just as brighter days began to dawn for the School, after a period of decided depression. There was not at first any actual falling off in numbers; but while other schools, notably Harrow and Rugby, were improving their organisation and modernising their methods of learning and mode of living, Winchester stood still.

It seemed stricken with decay. Families like the Wallops, the Ashley-Coopers, the Bathursts, the Heathcotes, the Harrises, who had been Wykehamical for generations, went elsewhere, not with advantage to themselves, it is true, but with disadvantage to Winchester. College and Commoners alike were on the down-grade.

College was depressed owing to the decadence of New College. The privilege enjoyed by New College of not suing for graces for degrees, originally intended to make,

COMMONERS' COURT, 1838.

From drawing in possession of the College

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and apparently succeeding in making, New College men more industrious than those of other Colleges, proved fatal when the system of class lists for honours was introduced at the beginning of this century, and New College claimed exemption. The rest of the University competed, and the fame of the successful was noised abroad. A New College man might be as hard working, as industrious, and as able, but his light was hid under a bushel. “Fame is the spur that the clear spirit doth raise,” and the spur was entirely wanting to the best boys in College who went to New College. But this was not the sole defect. The privilege of exemption was abandoned in 1834. Yet this was the cruel comparison drawn by the Oxford University Commission between New College, filled from Winchester, and St. John’s, recruited from Merchant Taylors’ School. (*Report*, 1852, p. 50.)

Since that time it has produced one First Class man, viz. in 1842; and, in 1843, the same gentleman obtained a University Mathematical Scholarship. St. John’s has but fifty on the Foundation, but its Fellows have obtained eight First Classes and a University Mathematical Scholarship. The chance of securing candidates of superior ability is infinitely diminished in consequence of the practice of converting the nomination of boys on the Foundation of Winchester College into private patronage, which is often practised on behalf of mere infants. Wykehamists who have never been on the Foundation, and even some of those who have lost their election by superannuation, often obtain high distinctions in the University.

In the view of the Commissioners the cause of the difference was that while the Scholarships at St. John's were freely competed for by the whole of Merchant Taylors' School, the Scholarships at New College were competed for by less than 70 boys out of 200, and those selected by mere patronage. With very narrow competition at Winchester, no competition at Oxford, and the certainty of a provision for life by the putting on of a white tie, no wonder that College was almost intellectually dead.

George Moberly, who succeeded Williams as Headmaster in 1835, was a striking example of the utility of failing to be elected to New College. He went to Balliol, and was one of the most brilliant of Balliol tutors, and ended as Bishop of Salisbury. T. A. Trollope (1821), who has left a lively, though not attractive, description of life at Winchester in those days, was of Magdalen Hall. Sir James Parker Deane (1824), eminent in the Admiralty Court and Ecclesiastical Courts, went to Queen's, Oxford. Frank Buckland, most vivid of writers on Natural History, was a student of Christ Church. Of those who got off to New College, almost the only person who attained eminence was G. M. Giffard (1826), who became Vice-Chancellor and Lord Justice.

Meanwhile Commoners produced the distinguished trio already mentioned, with many others that might be named: the first Lord Lyons (1832), the Ambassador; the first Lord Emly (1826); the veteran Lord Penzance (1828), just retired from the exalted but thankless office

FRANK BUCKLAND'S "TOYS."

In possession of Mr. Locke, College Porter.

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NEW COMMONERS, BUILT 1844.

From drawing in possession of the College.

of the highest ecclesiastical judge; Christopher Wordsworth (1820), Bishop of Lincoln, and so forth.

Commoners, on the other hand, suffered from its old-fashioned accommodation. Old Commoners was picturesque enough; but from Mr. Adams' vivacious description of it—even allowing for the exaggeration consequent on the evident desire to impress his successors with the eccentricity of its arrangements and the Spartan character of the life—it must have been terribly out of date. Almost the first work of Dr. Moberly was to compass its destruction. The freehold of the Sustern Spital being acquired from the Dean and Chapter in 1838, New Commoners was built at a cost of over £27,000 (*Public Schools Commission*, iii. 331), of which the College contributed £17,739, arising chiefly from the investment of money accrued from falls of timber. The plan was simple and excellent. The Head-master's house, a Gothic building, as Gothic was then understood, built, like College, of flint and stone in front, but, unlike College, of brick behind, presents an imposing front to College Street. Then came a quadrangle with offices on the west side, and the back of the Second-master's house on the east; while on the south was the boys' portion of the establishment, with two wings running southward towards Meads, forming three sides of a quadrangle. These wings contained Mugging Hall on the east and Grubbing Hall on the west. In Old Commoners there had been seemingly only one Hall for both purposes. Above these Halls were "Cloister Galleries," as the bed-

rooms were still called, by a term inherited from the Sisters' Spital. Outside, a covered passage or Cloister enclosed Flint Court, so called from the material, destructive to knees, of which it was composed. Nothing could have been better arranged. But the elevation was truly appalling. The building was built of raw red brick, with a low-pitched slate roof. Its unredeemed plainness was surely the most lugubrious effort in architecture even of the Early Victorian era. The ugliness was due to the building being done "on the cheap." The effect of the constitution of the College, the division of surplus among the Warden and Fellows, was that Winchester, with an income of £20,000 a year, was worse off than Rugby with half that amount. For £10,000 out of the £27,000 which "Commoners" cost, the Head-master was personally responsible, and had to pay interest. Hence the look of the ship was sacrificed for "a ha'porth of tar." Yet, unattractive as it was, the immediate effect of the building was to attract. The numbers went up to 148—its utmost capacity.

Then came the discovery that the building was as faulty inside as it was hideous outside. There were no chimneys or other ventilation in the bedrooms! Below the building the branch of the old Lort-burn which had served the Spital, and should have been diverted, was choked by the mass of matter thrown in to form the foundation, "converting the subsoil into a subterranean marsh, redolent with malaria" (*Adams*, p. 237). In 1846 there was an outbreak of fever. The numbers in

a single year fell to 112. The city also, by refusing to be drained, contributed a reputation of unhealthiness. So in spite of sanitary reforms the fall went on.

An incipient rebellion in Commoners in 1848 probably did not mend matters, though it was suppressed with much promptitude. It began in the prohibition of a bonfire and fireworks on a Saturday night, simmered through Sunday, and on Monday manifested itself by a barring-in, the boys refusing to leave their rooms. They were taken at their word, and a Master was posted in each "gallery" to see that they maintained their refusal. When they tried to leave they were sent back. In a few hours they were starved out, and surrendered at discretion.

Another cause that no doubt tended in the downward direction was the reputation of Dr. Moberly and the Second-master, Charles Wordsworth, of being extreme High Churchmen. It was unfortunate for Winchester that Radley was started by a Wykehamist, William Sewell, on the most extreme High-Church lines, and that Charles Wordsworth was selected as first Warden of Glenalmond. From all these causes combined the School went down and down, till in 1856 it reached the nadir of sixty-eight Commoners.

The turn of the tide came from an unexpected quarter. The Ordinary proved useful, and Eton led the way in reform. In the darkest days of Winchester, College had never sunk as it did at Eton, under the barbarous life of Long Chamber, where for many years the number did not

rise above fifty. With Provost Hodgson, forced on the College by the Crown in 1848, reforms began. In 1852, competitive examinations for admission were substituted for patronage, and great improvements made in the accommodation. College filled rapidly. Four years afterwards the Newcastle Scholarship—corresponding with Goddard at Winchester—was won by a Colleger, who was hailed as a prodigy in consequence (*Annals of Eton College*, by Wasey Sterry, p. 302. Methuen, 1898). Twelve years later the Bishop of Winchester, Sumner, “being on the most intimate terms with Dr. Hawtrey, thought it would be a good thing to introduce it (competition) here.” But it was remarkable that this happy thought only occurred after the Oxford University Commission was appointed. Dr. Moberly candidly admitted to the Public Schools Commission (*Minutes of Evidence*, 1864, iii. p. 340) that he had opposed the change at the time, but that it had been “essentially successful.” There were then on an average 100 candidates for 14 vacancies; and the competition for College had sent up the number of Commoners.

“Of old”—this was really only true of the previous thirty years—“we had a small connection and a considerable narrowness in the system altogether. This open competition brings boys of all abilities, of all families, from all parts of the country, and so spreads our connection very widely.”

In 1857 Winchester was for the last time dealt with, as in the days of Oliver and of Thomas Cromwell, as part of the University of Oxford, the University Com-

missioners making statutes for Winchester as well as New College. They abolished at last the rights of Founder's kin. They statutably confirmed competition in regard to Scholarships at Winchester, and provided that

the electors may refuse to admit as a candidate any one whom they may deem to be not in need of a Scholarship, and all other things being equal, shall have regard to the pecuniary circumstances of a candidate.

This rule worked exceedingly well. Although the preference for poverty was only what is technically termed a *ceteris paribus* preference, it operated, as was intended, to keep out the rich. The University Commissioners gave further impetus to the School by changing the New College Scholarships from probationary life-Fellowships into bursaries for five years, throwing them open to Commoners, and fixing the number at six a year. They also provided for twenty competitive Exhibitions for Commoners.

The present Head-master, Dr. Fearon, was the first “Winchester Scholar” of New College. Brilliant was his record. At Winchester he won the Goddard and Duncan Scholarships, was first, that is, both in Classics and Mathematics; two gold medals and three Maltby prizes—prizes given by Dr. Maltby, Bishop of Durham, a Commoner in 1783, for Greek composition. At Oxford Dr. Fearon achieved Double Firsts in Classics and Mathematics both in “Mods” and “Greats,” and a Fellowship

at New College. The first two Commoner Exhibitioners, and the first two Commoners to get off to New College, amply justified the change made by the new statutes. The first was A. O. Prickard (Commoner, 1855), who was both English and Latin Essayist at Oxford, became Fellow of New College, and is known as the editor of Aristotle's *Poetics*. The second was John Wordsworth (Commoner, 1856), son of Christopher Wordsworth, who at Oxford won the Latin Essay, the Craven Scholarship, and a Fellowship at Brasenose, and is now Bishop of Salisbury.

Under these influences Winchester rose again. When "Commoners" began to fill up, taught by experience not to put all his eggs into one basket, Dr. Moberly followed the example of the other great Public Schools, or, perhaps we should say, reverted to the original practice at Winchester, and, instead of having all the Commoners in the Head-master's house, opened "Tutors' houses," or boarding-houses kept by Assistant-masters, for some of them. The experiment tentatively and hesitatingly made in 1860 by the opening of Chernocke House, a charming red brick eighteenth-century house in St. Thomas's Street, was immediately successful. Since then the numbers have only been kept down by a cast-iron limit.

It was most unfortunate that this return to early practice came so late in the day. Had the School been allowed to increase to normal numbers in Masters' houses or Dames' houses, as at Eton and Westminster, at the end of the eighteenth century, or perhaps so late as

Dr. Moberly's accession in 1835, Winchester would have continued to rank as the first of the great Public Schools, instead of yielding the palm, as it did at successive epochs, to Westminster, to Eton, to Harrow, and to Rugby. But the practice of confining the choice of the Warden and Fellows, the Head-master and the Assistant-masters entirely to old Wykehamists, and those, as a rule, New College men, while, as in the case of Speed, Whigs and Liberals were tabooed, proved fatal to nearly every reform that was not forced on the College from outside. It was an extraordinary innovation when Charles Wordsworth, a Harrow boy, was made Second-master in 1835. Dr. Moberly told the Public Schools Commission even of himself (*Evidence*, p. 337), that his place being “looked upon as one of the privileges of New College, it has never been a very pleasant matter that a Balliol man should be here”; while to have Wordsworth, the first non-Wykehamist for 300 years or more, as Second-master, “was not altogether acceptable to the body of Wykehamists.” After Wordsworth came two Wykehamists, Frederick Wickham (“Black Jack”), a New College man, and then Dr. Ridding, a Wykehamist but not a New College man. Under the reign of his successor, George Richardson, who was not only not a Wykehamist, but was even a Cambridge man, College has profited much, and is now the healthiest and the most comfortable, as well as the most beautiful, of all school-houses in England. The post is now (1899) again to go to an outsider, a Harrovian, Mr. M. J. Rendall.

The second quarter of the nineteenth century will be distinguished in School history, not for its achievements in learning, so much as in the development of games. We may claim for Winchester School the earliest poet of cricket, and the chief of its earliest heroes. Hampshire, and in particular Hambledon, one of the possessions of the College, was, as is well known, one of the earliest haunts of scientific cricket. George Huddesford (Scholar, 1764), writing in 1769 a cricket song for the Hambledon Club (*The Wiccamical Chaplet*, London, 1804), already proclaims it as the established national game—

Attend, all ye muses, and join to rehearse
An old English sport, never praised yet in verse.
'Tis cricket I sing of illustrious fame,
No nation e'er boasted so noble a game.

His advice to the various exponents of the game implies that it was played in the same way as now. He even enforces the golden rule of playing with a straight bat—

Ye strikers, observe when the foe shall draw nigh,
Mark the bowler advancing, with vigilant eye,
Stand firm to your scratch, let your bat be upright.

Already, too, the professional was being tempted by filthy lucre to change his county—

Then why should we fear either Sackville or Mann,
Or repine at the loss of both Boyton and Lann?

Why, indeed.

What are Castor and Pollux to Nyren and Small?

In "Whitsuntide: written at Winchester College," published in Huddesford's *Poems* (2 vols., London, 1804), but written by Thomas Warton, junior (Scholar, 1768-71), son of Dr. Warton, the poet bids "fur-clad winter fly," dubbing him "God of Football's noisy rout." Then he proceeds—

But come, thou genial Son of Spring,
Whitsuntide, and with thee bring
Cricket, nimble boy and light,
In slippers red and drawers white,
Who o'er the nicely-measured land
Ranges round his comely band.

But notwithstanding this early blossom, Mr. A. K. Cook's researches, embodied in the article *Hills, Meads, and Games* in the Quingentenary volume, have not produced any direct evidence of cricket-culture at Winchester before 1803. In that year the eponymous hero of bartering (a barter is Wykehamical for a half-volley), Robert Barter, afterwards Warden, came to Winchester; while William Ward (1800-4), "founder" of Lord's cricket ground, most famous of early Wykehamical cricketers, played for All England as early as 1810. Mr. Cook, however, doubts whether there was a Winchester eleven. In face, however, of his quotation from the *Salisbury and Winchester Journal*, July 25, 1803, as to "a grand match of cricket between eleven gentlemen of Winchester College and eleven gentlemen of the town," this is carrying scepticism to a length that would rob us of our most cherished beliefs. This can hardly have been the sole foreign match

played, and if there were foreign matches, there must have been an eleven.

It is certain, however, that Inter-school matches did not arise at Winchester till the two brothers Wordsworth, finding themselves great men at Winchester and Harrow respectively, organised the first Winchester and Harrow match at Lord's, 27th and 28th July 1825. Eton and Harrow had played regular matches there from 1822. Winchester, captained by Christopher Wordsworth, afterwards Head-master of Harrow, beat Harrow, captained by Charles Wordsworth, afterwards Second-master of Winchester, by a single run on the first and by 211 to 73 in the second innings. The Winchester hero was H. E. Knatchbull, who made 14 and 60. H. E. Manning, the late Cardinal, appeared for Harrow, and Christopher Wordsworth claimed to have "caught him out," though it is doubtful whether this is not a rhetorical inaccuracy. That night the pavilion at Lord's was burnt down—not, we will hope, as a bonfire either to cheer the victorious, or avenge the defeated champions—and therewith much early history of cricket. Next year Winchester played Harrow, again winning by 384 runs, W. Meyrick making 146 not out in the Winchester second innings, his score comprising a 6 and seven 5's. The future Cardinal captained Harrow, but contributed only 3 and 1 to the scores. Harrow's score in the first innings was only 29 all told. On August 4 Winchester played Eton for the first time, and won by 53 runs, Meyrick making 50 and 88 not out. It is said that

the Winchester costume was white-duck trousers, a white jean jacket bound with pink, and a high hat. The Eton eleven had no particular dress; some were in flannels, and one of the bowlers was in knee-breeches and silk stockings.

Winchester did not appear again at Lord's till 1829, when they played Eton only, losing by 4 wickets. Next year they beat Eton by 8 wickets, and Harrow by an innings and 59 runs. In 1832 and 1833 they played Eton only, being beaten both times. From 1834 to 1855 there was a regular Public School week of triangular contests. In the first year Winchester beat Harrow by 1 wicket, but in the Eton match, “being disappointed of three of their eleven, whose places had to be taken by other members of the School who were on the ground” —a striking commentary on the casual nature of the contest—they lost by 13 runs. The present Warden of Winchester played in this match, and should have been captain the next year, but was ill and unable to play. The result of the series of matches was that Winchester beat each of the other Schools eight times, but was beaten by Harrow thirteen times and by Eton eleven times. The depression of Winchester, which began in 1846, became instantly evident in the cricket field. In 1845 they beat Harrow and tied with Eton. They did not win either match again till 1851, when, it is said, the historic dark-blue cap was first definitely adopted as the colours of the Winchester eleven. On Winchester's last appearance at Lord's in 1854, Harrow beat both Eton and Winchester easily, and Winchester beat Eton by

3 wickets. The reasons for stopping the matches in 1855 appear to have been the complaints of parents at the expense and danger of boys being a week in London in the holidays. Undoubtedly it was a difficulty that the Winchester holidays began in the end of June, while at Harrow and Eton they began at the end of July. The remedy would have been to do that which was done some twenty years later, and assimilate the holidays of Winchester to those of other schools. However, it was not done. In 1856 Eton was forbidden to play at Lord's, and the only Public School match was with Eton at Winchester—a victory for Eton by an innings and 4 runs. In 1857 the Eton and Harrow elevens were each made up with old boys. Next year the Eton and Harrow matches were resumed at Lord's, and have continued ever since, and the match has become an event not only in the cricket but the social world. Winchester finally abandoned its cricket position by ceasing to play at Lord's. It beat Eton by one wicket in that year and by three wickets in 1859, but never won again till 1870. Undoubtedly it was at a disadvantage, not only by its smaller numbers and its inferior ground, but by its abstinence from the light of day at Lord's.

Those who put a stop to Winchester playing at Lord's in 1855 did a very ill turn to the School. Had the arrangement apparently contemplated of Eton also abstaining from Lord's, as it did in 1856–7, been carried out, and had the three Schools played each other at their

respective Schools, no harm would have been done. But it was the height of folly for the authorities of Winchester to prevent the resumption of the Lord's matches by Winchester only. It not only affected the cricket of the School, and the chances of its players achieving subsequent fame at the Universities, that was of course; but it affected its prestige in every direction. For one thing, what a reflection it was on the character of the School that Eton and Harrow boys could be trusted in London for their Lord's matches, but Winchester "men" could not. If in later times the reason of the ban was the distraction caused to the studies of the School by these matches, what a reflection that was on the feather-heads of Winchester. In point of fact, the result of there being only one match instead of two has been not to lessen the distraction but to intensify it, and it is really pitiable to see in the School organ, when years of lean kine come, how depression sets in and the whole mind of the School revolves on the question how to beat Eton.

The development of football is obscurer even than that of cricket. That it was played in 1550, and no doubt before, Johnson's poem bears witness. When or how the Winchester game was developed we do not know. Like tennis or fives it undoubtedly owes its characteristics to the local circumstances of its origin. Its peculiar character is due to its short, narrow ground—80 yards by 27, bounded by ropes stretched through posts and a netting 8 feet high outside them; and to the goal, called "worms,"—being simply a line cut in

the turf the whole width of the ground. It resembles Association game in that it is really football, "handiwork" being a deadly sin, except for "behinds" or in the case of a catch. It is totally unlike it in that an equally deadly sin is dribbling. With Wykehamical strenuousness, when you kick you must kick hard. It is like the Rugby game in that the foundation of it is the "hot," the "scrimmage," and in the absolute criminality of "tagging" or being off your side. It differs essentially from Rugby game in that at Winchester a "kick up," or kicking the ball higher than shoulder level when the ball is still or not clearly on the bound, is an offence; and as for picking up the ball and running off with it, that was looked on with righteous horror as being not football, but handball. The Badminton volume seeks to prove that the Rugby game of handball is the oldest form of football. This, however, is inconsistent with the fact that all the older Public Schools—Winchester, Eton, Westminster, Charterhouse, Harrow—played a game which disdained handiwork. Thomas Warton, junior, wrote a poem on *Christmas* as a pendant to *Whitsuntide*, like *L'Allegro* to *Il Penseroso*, and to make up for the disrespectful way he spoke of football in the latter poem, now sings how

tho' winter chill the skies,
Canst catch the glow of exercise
Following swift the football's course.

This, like "urge the flying ball" in Gray's *Eton College*, points to a kicking, not a handling game.

The Winchester game starts with a "hot," the ball being placed in the middle between the two contending parties, who lower their heads and try by superior weight and energy to push the ball through each other. In my time the great game of Twenty-two between College and Commoners began with a fiendish invention called a "knuckle-down hot," the foremost players "over the ball" on each side, and their supporters kneeling on the ground. This used to last any time. In the modern game no "hot" may last more than a minute.

That the Winchester game is infinitely superior to any other there is no doubt—at least to a Winchester man. It gives occasion for every form of physical excellence—strength and persistence in the ups, kicking power and cleverness in the behinds, speed of foot and instant decision in the "hot-watches" and in all, and above all, pluck. The hard kicking and the small ground make the game prolific in "charges." There is nothing in the world requiring so much calculating nerve as backing up "a kick-off" and waiting to receive the enemy's counter-blast. It is easier, if more exciting, to follow up your own kick, endeavouring to get the ball before the enemy, crossing legs with him, if need be, to kick the ball at the same time, or rushing at the "behind" in the act of taking a "flyer," careless whether you are "planted" in chest or wind or face, so long as you get the ball somewhere and somehow, and a goal is saved, or won.

The Winchester game has the great merit, too, that there is no pause in it. All are engaged at once. You

pursue the ball for yourself, and do not wait for some one on your own side to send it you; still less may you stay about behind your side; you are hard at it from start to finish, except for the momentary pauses when there is a "kick-out," and the ball has to be replaced for a hot; and, oh for the relief of "hour," when the score is, say 13 to 12, and your side counts 13. That with its transcendent merits Winchester game is still confined to Winchester, must be imputed to the trouble and expense of the paraphernalia involved, the planting ropes and posts and netting. In early days, too, before canvas and netting were invented, the narrowness of the ground made it a poor game unless a long line of juniors kept in the ball on either side, which could not be regarded as a pleasing task for the poor juniors. The game could never have originated in this way, and the living wall of juniors was no doubt a substitute for a more material wall. Outer Court was probably the place where the game developed, when Meads was still a pasture and a kitchen garden. On Hills the side of "Hills" itself may have done for one side of canvas, and created excellent flyers. But these things are mysteries. Nor do we know much of the early days of Commoners and College matches. Twenty-two was played every year on the Fifth of November, made famous in the early years of the century by the chaplain who regularly preached on that day, "Dark was the night, dark was the lantern, but darker the deed." Six-and-Six was played on a "Hatch thoke," the nearest Thursday to 6th December. It was called Founder's

commemoration, but the day is St. Nicholas' day, the day of the Boy-Bishop, and its celebration most probably originated in his honour. It is curious to read in “Badger” Gale's *Ups and Downs of a Public School*, 1856, that as late as 1839 College only decided to play the match and made up their team the night before.

There are many descriptions of the School-life at this time, more books having been written about Winchester than about any other School. In one way this has been unfortunate. The idea that Winchester was exceptionally rough is chiefly due to the exaggerations of writers, whose one idea in literature was that of the Fat Boy in *Pickwick*, “I wants to make yer flesh creep.” Such writers put down the most striking instances of hardship or ferocity that they had seen or heard of, and piled them together in such a way as to give the impression that they were every day or all day occurrences. In point of fact, a long study of school history has convinced me that at Winchester there was infinitely less bullying and other hardships than at other schools. In the middle of this century it was a paradise compared with less organised schools. That it would appear exceeding rough and unpleasant to the College or Commoner junior of to-day is certain; that it was less rough and unpleasant than other schools at that date is also certain.

The best account, though it suffers from a too Corinthian rhetoric, is that given in Adams' *Wykehamica*, which relates chiefly to Commoners. The most curious custom, now disappeared, was that of “Pealings.” At the

beginning of "Cloister-t
Part were joined together
of "Standing up," they
Masters came in, and sit
presidency of the Com
master, who took the H
risive sentences on the P
stove. The formula ran,
by the name or nicknam
marks, usually uncompl
given by Mr. Adams are
thrice: Thompson's scor
had made "Crocketts," &
spectacles," was harmless
curiously recalls the *Sat*
Triumphs in Roman his
pered by epigrams" of
Pealings in Commoner H
the half after breakfast.
the first Friday was follo
the next by "Boots and
"Gomer Hats." This la
shown, the "beaver" ha
not the "go-homer ha
have guessed. These Peal
up." Some unfortunate
Juniors on different days
was stuck up on the to
by the assembled multiti

pellets. Fortunately accuracy of aim on such occasions is not always commensurate with viciousness of intention, and the victim was allowed, like the ostrich according to the showman, "from that exalted position to present his back to his baffled pursuers." Mr. Adams mentions one case in which a boy was "stuck up" for a reputation for writing Greek verses. Is the common phrase "stuck-up" derived from this barbarous method of repressing uppishness? In a lively article in the Quingentenary number of the *Wykehamist*, Dr. S. R. Gardiner, the greatest of living historians, tells us that when in his time this custom was abolished, the boys "all thought that the floodgates of revolution had opened."

There were other Pealings on the last three Sundays in the half, after dinner, consisting in the same chorus of "once, twice, thrice," with different refrains, "Party Rolls," "Money and Direction Rolls," and "Packing-up." In Mr. Prickard's time (1854-57) the Pealings had sunk to two, and the day had been altered from Sunday to Tuesday. One would like to know when they finally disappeared. They were all delightfully old-fashioned. "Party Rolls" and "Money and Direction Rolls" were redolent of pre-Railway days, when the boys were despatched in parties on coaches, or perhaps the still earlier days of post-chaises. "Boots and Leathers" recalls a remoter time, when, obedient to the words of *Domum*, Roger led out the nags, and the boys mounted them and rode away home.

This may, by the way, have some bearing on the date

of *Domum*, which has never been ascertained. Every one knows the idiotic story—for legend it is not—that it was written by a boy who was left behind during the holidays for some offence, chained to Domum Tree, and after cutting “Maze” on “Hills,” breathed forth his soul in this Swan-song. Mr. Adams spent much space in showing that the story might be true, only that the boy was not chained to Domum Tree, but to “post” in “Seventh.” It really is the case that there was a single Scholar in Commons from 28th September 1543 to January 1544, apparently because of some epidemic, and perhaps a sportive antiquary, Charles Blackstone or another, built the story on the fact. But the song is so clearly a mere joyous breaking-up song, that we need not distress ourselves to find any particular occasion for its creation. The earliest mention I have found of it is in one of Huddesford’s poems, “On a threat to destroy the Tree at Winchester round which the Scholars on breaking-up sing their celebrated song called Dulce Domum.” The poet makes it a Tree of Liberty—

Then hail, fair Virgin Liberty !
 All around thy sacred tree
 Yearly, when returning May
 The green sod decks with herbage gay,
 Freshest spring-flowers will we strew,
 And cowslips dripping bath’d with dew :

But ruin seize the sordid wight
 Whoe’er he be, the churlish brute,
 Who against thy spreading root
 His sacrilegious axe shall lift

The tree is mentioned in the "Wiccamical Chaplet," in Tom Warton's *Whitsuntide*, written between 1768 and 1771.

Thy votaries rang'd in order due
To-morrow's wish'd for dawn shall view,
Greeting the radiant Star of Light
With Matin Hymn and early rite.

E'en now these hollow'd haunts among,
To thee we raise the eternal song,
And swell with echoing minstrelsy
The strain of joy and liberty.

The Matin hymn is that splendid Latin hymn "Jam Lucis orto sidere," which used to be sung in procession in Chamber Court on the last morning of the half. A note informs us that the "choral song" means "a Latin song, sung with instrumental accompaniment, on the day before the commencement of their Whitsuntide vacation by the Scholars of Winchester College." The tune is said to be due to John Reading, choir-master of Lincoln Cathedral, *temp.* William III. Mr. Adams thought (p. 410) he had no connection with Winchester, and was therefore not likely to have set the words of *Domum* to a tune. But he is no doubt the Mr. Redding, or Reading, who was organist of the College 1681-91 (*Holgate*, pp. 39, 63). It is quite possible that he did not invent, but only harmonised the air. Both air and words may well date from Henry VIII.'s reign. It would be pressing negative evidence too hard to argue that Christopher Johnson must have mentioned it if it had existed in his time.

He does not mention the singing of *Jam lucis*, mediæval beyond doubt. Domum Tree was saved. It is a great elm-tree, half of which still exists at Clarke's, the last house on the ways to Hills, by the river just beyond Black-bridge. For many years, since 1835 at least, *Domum* has not been sung round Domum Tree but in Meads. After what used to be called Election but is now called Domum Dinner, at which the whole of College, Commoner Prefects who are medallists or in Lord's, and a number of bidden guests attend, the company descends to Meads, and, with the whole School and a mixed multitude of unbidden guests, solemnly sing *Domum* to the accompaniment of a military band. It is sung again and again, after intervals during which the band discourses sweet music. At ten o'clock the evening ends with a last *Domum*, sung in Chamber Court with more than religious fervour. For to many it is the last *Domum* they will ever sing as Wykehamists, and marks the end of happy days, the sundering of sweet societies, the parting of the ways, the plunge into the great world. If I wanted a stranger or a foreigner to realise the charm by which Winchester holds its sons, and the depth of the feeling for "their mother and their nurse" that they carry with them into the world, in a measure beyond and above that felt by scions of all other schools, I should place him under the clear sky and in the balmy airs that come from the near sea, and breathe across the scented water-meadows, to see and hear a *Domum*.

from photograph by Mr. N. B. Woodh-Smith.

XXVIII

"IN MY TIME"

MANY people have written reminiscences of their school days at Winchester, but none have yet given their experiences as "House-men." As the early days of Houses are now getting to be of quite respectable antiquity, my "remembrances" may not perhaps be without novelty. My first acquaintance with Winchester was on a very hot day in July, when I arrived at Southgate Hill, the house of the Rev. J. T. Houssemayne Du Boulay, to try for College. The house was then quite new, being the third tutor's house that was started, and the first of those built for the purpose. It had been preceded by Chernocke House, in St. Thomas Street, opened in September 1860, appropriately enough, by the Rev. H. J. Wickham, a Fellow of New College. His boys were called "Beetleites," the Beetle being his nickname. The Rev. H. E. Moberly's house, in Kingsgate Street (now Mr. Toye's), was the next, and was opened in 1861, and its inhabitants were called "Moabites." But these were ordinary private dwelling-houses to begin with. Mr. Du Boulay opened a house temporarily in Cheesehill Street in 1862, and moved into Southgate Hill, in Cloister Time, 1863.

The thing that most impressed itself on me in my short stay—for I was ignominiously dismissed after the first day of the examination—was the great stone standing close by the house; a huge erratic boulder which had been dug up out of the foundations, and, after the fashion of the great mallard that, legend says, waddled out of the drain when All Souls' College was being built, was no doubt emblematic of the future greatness of the house.

In September 1863, when I arrived with two other new "men," we made the total number in the house up to thirteen. There were no Prefects in it, or anybody higher in the school than Middle Part. We therefore had no experience in the house of the delights of fagging, of which most Winchester reminiscences are full. Otherwise we took our places as ordinary Commoner Juniors. We went into school and chapel through Commoners, and a room was assigned to us in Commoners, next to Prefects' Common Room, in which we had boxes to keep our books and clothes, where we dressed before and after football, and left the tall hats, which were then *de rigueur* out of the school precincts.

If we escaped house-fagging, I was not long in making acquaintance with the other two great Wykehamical institutions, the bibling-rod and the ground-ash. The second Saturday evening after our arrival a solemn edict was published by Mr. Du Boulay, that Canon Street, then our shortest way down to school, was out of bounds, and that we were on no account to go down it. Next morning, being late for chapel, I, followed by another

"new man," was running down the forbidden street, when, to our horror, we suddenly found ourselves hard upon the track of Mr. Du Boulay, who was hastening on the same mission. He was as much taken aback as we were, and was some little time before he could collect himself as we passed to tell us to "order our names," *i.e.* to send ourselves up for a flogging. We rushed on, and after the necessary *détour* to put away our hats, found ourselves at the gate of Seventh Chamber Passage, about two minutes to hour. Here we were confronted by a Commoner Prefect with a ground-ash, and had to stand and receive two cuts (our first experience of it) for being tardy. So that what with the smart of the present and the anticipated pains of the future, it may be supposed that we entered chapel in a highly Christian frame of mind.

In the afternoon of the same Sunday, being no doubt already regarded as a lost sheep, I was invited by some of the bigger "men" to go for a walk. Tobacco was produced, and I was introduced to the pleasures of a new clay pipe. I endeavoured to draw a veil over my real feelings, and let the pipe go out as soon as possible.

The morning following this unholy Sabbath I spent in a state of green anticipation. The weapon which looms so large on the walls of School looked most formidable. I had to send in my name to the Bible Clerk, or College Prefect "in course" to read the Bible in chapel for the week. He took up the names of those ordered for execution to the Head-master on a slip of

paper. The fatal formula was "*Nomen Leach jussu Domini du Boulay detuli.*" At the end of school, as twelve o'clock struck, the Doctor descended from his throne, and calling "Bible Clerk and Ostiarius," I was seized and led to the form immediately under the pictured rod, while the whole school gathered round in a semi-circle, for in those days the whole school did their lessons in the one room. The Doctor put on his cap, and Bible Clerk delivered the rod into his hands; I knelt down, and the Ostiarius unbuckled my braces, and the Bible Clerk held up my shirt and exposed to view about a foot of the small of the back. For this was the spot that tradition at Winchester had consecrated for the purpose. Six strokes with the four apple-twigs at the end of the handle were then delivered, the rod being shaken out between each stroke; six strokes, no more and no less, being the sacred number. Then the Doctor hurled the rod on to the ground, and marched in stately fashion from the room, followed by the school in a tumultuous throng. My companion in crime was let off.

Perhaps the Doctor was merciful to a new boy; certainly the bibling did not hurt half so much as I had expected. Compared with the previous birchings that Dr. Dyne had inflicted, "for fault, or small or none at all," at Cholmeley School, Highgate—it was a mere titillation of the epidermis. But then Dr. Dyne was a *plagossus Orbilius*. Dr. Moberly reserved his birchings for more serious offences. At Winchester one never had to endure the butt-end of the birch on the palm of the hand when

THE HEAD-MASTER'S CHAIR.

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saying a lesson, for any and every mistake, an abominable practice which Dr. Dyne loved.

Occasionally Dr. Moberly was rather inclined to play with the birch in a humorous way. Once in my form two College men had unfortunately sent up for Latin verse identical versions of the English piece, derived from a book of versions current. The Doctor conducted the proceedings thereon *coram populo* "up to books." I forget whether the culprits pleaded guilty or denied the crime, but the dialogue proceeded thus: "How came ye to do such a thing, me boys?" Duet: "Very sorry, sir; we'll never do it again." "Well, ye'll do me another copy of verses." "Oh yes, sir!" "And ye'll write me out 100 lines." Duet: "Oh yes, sir!" with great effusion, under the idea that the extreme penalty was remitted. But, after a pause, "And I shall whip 'ee!" followed to their no small disenchantment. The operation, this time by the birch, was carried out in the Doctor's study, the whole Form being invited to be spectators. It was regarded as a good joke by the rest of us, and when we were hustling about for front places the Doctor turned round on one with, "Take care, G., it will be your turn next." Public floggings, like public executions, were by no means deterrent. The culprit became rather a hero, and the crime was forgotten in sympathy. The birch, by the way, was quite an innovation, introduced by Dr. Moberly. It has quite superseded the old Wykehamical bibling-rod, now disused.

The ground-ash too was much used. For "tunding"

for real offences, such as "shirking-out," *i.e.* going out of bounds, smoking, and the like, which would have been birchable offences if they came before a Master, a great deal can be said. But the practice of "cutting-in" was a vile one. It was most in evidence in afternoon school on Saturday afternoons. The whole school sat in what was then called "School," and is now a concert-room, preparing lessons of various kinds. College men had their "scobs," the places between which were very comfortable. Prefects had theirs in squares, in which they showed hospitality to friends in Commoners. The bulk of Commoners sat at open tables called Commoner Tables. A great deal of talking and giggling not unnaturally went on, and the Bible Clerk, ground-ash in hand, marched up and down the room to repress disorder, and at pretty frequent intervals it descended on the shoulders of some extra-noisy talker. It generally hit a scob as well, and the noise and distraction of attention produced by it were much more than was produced by the noisiest conversationalist. In "toy-time," or preparation time in the evening, in Houses the Prefect in course sat at a table in the centre doing his own work, with a ground-ash in front of him ready to "cut-in" to any too sportive junior. I much doubt whether anything was gained by it. It only annoyed one to be cut into, and increased one's indisposition for paying attention.

Worse than the practice of cutting-in was that of "spanking." "Tunding" was a formal matter for which you had to "stand round" and receive the ground-ash

across the shoulders. Spanking was an irregular penalty, for which you had to "bend over" and receive the ground-ash on the same place as the birch. It was usually resorted to for fagging offences or neglects. I never suffered from it, because when I was a junior there were no Prefects in my house. It is sometimes urged in defence of this sort of thing that it takes the nonsense out of a person, and teaches the uppish boy his place. But the place of the uppish is on the top, and the cheeky, sturdy youngster was just the one who did not feel it. It fell with full severity on the awkward, the sensitive, or the depressed boy. If a cup was broken in getting tea ready, if a pot was left uncleaned, if balls were let pass while long-stopping at cricket—for any and every real or fancied bungle or forgetfulness, the ground-ash hung over the seat of the wretched junior. I am thankful to think that I only once inflicted a spanking for fagging, and that was in my first month of office as a Prefect, on a big junior who of malice aforethought neglected or refused to carry some books up to the house. I used that method for other reasons; once for bullying, and on another occasion for an incident of such a character that another Prefect and I, before whom it came, reported it to our House Master, and asked whether we should deal with it or he, and as expulsion would probably have followed if it had come officially before him, he preferred that we should deal with it.

I tunded perhaps four boys; amongst them two for going off to Stockbridge Races for the whole day without

leave, and another for smoking on his way up from a private tutor. How little effect it had, however, I learnt afterwards, when the latter told me that though he slept in my room he used to smoke many a night out of the window after bedtime, as I used to sit up late to work. He must have been an "artful dodger," though; as after he had several mornings, on the plea of illness, had leave off from early school, a small pile of pills which he was supposed to have taken were found lying *perdus* in the grate.

The fagging in our house was almost *nil*. Beyond "calling peals," or announcing the half-hour, quarter, ten minutes, and five minutes before chapel in the morning, there was no regular fagging. There was no breakfast or tea to get, or things to clean. The worst task my "valet" had to perform was to call me in the morning, and, in spite of objurgations, insist on my getting out of bed. Otherwise his sole work was to see that one's bath was ready after football; and as he got off "kicking-in" for that, it was not a great hardship. Kicking-in at football was certainly the most unpleasant fagging of any; and as juniors we used to think that Commoner Prefects gave us a good deal more than our fair share, because they had not a chance at us for other fagging. Instead of open netting on thin iron posts, the football ground was walled with canvas hung on thick wooden posts. It was by no means exhilarating on a cold damp day to stand around for an hour, unable to get anything more than occasional glimpses of the

game, picking up the balls that were kicked out and throwing them in again. It was called "kicking-in" because even "canvas" was a comparatively novel invention, and the matches were still played in open ropes, with a living wall of boys who kicked, or failed to kick or to hit the ball in when it was going out, and often got sworn at for spoiling somebody's "flyer," or not keeping it in at all. Cricket fagging was not half so objectionable; though it was fairly onerous, as nets were unknown, and balls used to fly about Meads in most unpleasant and erratic proximity to one's shins and head. Priding myself on being a fairly good long-stop, I used rather to like it than otherwise; and a generous Prefect often rewarded one with an innings.

I spent altogether six years at Winchester, which was divided into two equal halves by two great events, the first personal, the other public. The personal division was between the time I spent as a junior and that I spent as a Prefect, which coincided with the great school division of the reigns of Dr. Moberly and Dr. Ridding as Headmasters. When I first went, the school was divided—as it had been from at least the reign of Edward VI.—into three Books—Sixth, Fifth, and Fourth. But these had become subdivided. "Sixth Book," the highest, had two divisions, "Senior" and "Junior"; "Fifth Book" was divided into "Senior Part," "Middle Part" (which had two divisions), and "Junior Part" (which had also two divisions); then came "Fourth Book," which also had two divisions. With the other new men of my house I was

placed in "Senior Division Junior Part." I remember creating some scorn by telling somebody that I was in "Junior Division Senior Part," a Form which did not exist; while even T. B. Hughes, the paragon of my year, and head of the roll for College, was not placed above Middle Part. The first boy who was ever placed in Senior Part direct was F. D. Morice, in my house, who came at the age of fifteen, and swept everything before him. He was afterwards a master at Rugby. Our division contained seven College "men" and thirty-three Commoners, or forty in all, a number which would be thought impossible in a school of the present day. I do not remember what books we read, except that we did Euripides' "Medea," and used Wordsworth's "Greek Grammar," which, by way of rendering *obscurius per obscurum*, was written in Latin. It remains to me to this day the ideal of all that is hideous and hateful in learning.

Another nightmare was the production of "vulguses," or Latin epigrams on some given subject. In Junior Part they consisted of four lines; in Middle and Senior Part, of six lines. Three of these hateful things had to be done a week. That in Senior Part the doing of them was excellent training, I do not doubt. In Junior Part it was simple torture and very useless torture, when one had not the dimmest idea of the point of an epigram, and the haziest notion either of Latin or quantities. I do not think I ever achieved a decent "vulgus" but once, and that was in Middle Part. The subject was *Digne puer meliore flamma*. By a happy thought I

turned it into some lines on the infelicity of doing a "vulgus" under the darksome and flickering gas jet under which I was working. On the strength of it I was sent up three places.

We had a verse task once a week besides, which consisted, in Junior Part, in twenty lines of translation from a set piece of English. This was difficult enough, but by the aid of a dictionary and a "gradus" was not so bad as a "vulgus." There was a prose task every week also. The lesson in which I took the greatest interest was history. It was not, of course, English history—English was wholly ignored in our curriculum—but Roman. Still it was in English, and I well remember how I used to look forward to that single lesson a week as a relief from Wordsworth and "Medea." Throughout the whole three years spent in attaining Sixth Book, the English language, history, and geography were an untouched region. Classics were the be-all and the end-all of our education. French indeed we were obliged to learn; but the time spent over French was mostly so much time wasted. In Junior Part we were under a M. du Domaine. If I remember right, the whole part, some sixty, were up to books at the same time. He was not popular, rather sullen and "not quite," so that the whole lesson was rather like badger-baiting. It largely consisted of singing or muttering the chorus of a then popular nigger song about Campdown race-course: "Campdown ladies, sing this song, oh du da day." The Senior French Master, M. Angoville, was an ideal Frenchman of the old school, and had been

Master for some twenty years. He gave evidence before the Public Schools Commission, and expressed himself satisfied with the progress the upper boys made. The poor man must have been very easily satisfied. We had three-quarters of an hour twice a week, and according to his evidence "the lesson is always prepared before," and "the preparation ought to take one hour at least." It would surprise me to hear that any one had ever given five minutes to it. The lesson was regarded as a pleasing interlude. Angoville was supposed by us to have said that he had fought at Waterloo. So after a few sentences had been construed, some silly person was sure to bring in a reference to it; and it may be doubted whether a day passed without the request, "Do tell us about Waterloo, Monsieur."

M. Angoville wore a wig, and it was a not unknown practice to fish for it through the window of School with a fishing-rod, and it was sometimes caught; though, like the Itchen trout, it was rather difficult fishing, as the window was high up in the wall and the head invisible. Angoville had two funny expressions when he got really angry. One was, "I will box your eye," and the other, "It is bettaire that you leave us." On one occasion when he addressed this remark to me, I did leave, and spent an agreeable half-hour at a "scob" preparing the next lesson.

The cause of the mischief in regard to French was that French marks counted not at all with the classical marks towards settling our places in the school. During

French a general habit of fooling was traditional, and, without any immediate incentive to learn, it would have required a very strong-minded person indeed to acquire any tangible amount of French under the circumstances. It was abandoned altogether in Sixth Book. The system, or want of system, is all altered now, it is perhaps hardly necessary to say. French is an integral part of the school course. It is taught by English Masters, and is as effectively learnt as any other subject.

If the French lessons were a farce, the so-called science was even worse. Science had been introduced under strong pressure from the Oxford University Commissioners of 1857. They had contemplated making a statute for the conversion of the next three vacant Fellowships into endowments for three men of science, who were to reside at Winchester, and teach the boys and others science. The proposal was eventually dropped, in face of the strong opposition of the Warden and Fellows, on an assurance that they would "engage the best lecturers of the day in the various branches of physical science to come to Winchester and give the Scholars successive courses of lectures." The ordinance made accordingly provided that "the Scholars and Exhibitioners shall be instructed in the mathematical and physical sciences." This assurance and ordinance were held to be satisfied from 1857 to 1862 by a course of ten lectures on Saturday afternoons during the summer term, at a cost of £100 a year; three Fellowships being then estimated to be worth £1500 a year. The whole school were bound to attend these

lectures. The Public Schools Commissioners strongly animadverted on this way of carrying out the promise of the College. Dr. Moberly frankly told the Commissioners that instruction in physical sciences "was, except for those who have a taste, and intended to pursue them as amateurs or professionally, practically worthless." But the Warden promised that "in future, instruction in this branch of knowledge will be continued throughout the year, and that the boys will be examined after each lecture." Accordingly all Scholars and Exhibitioners were made to attend a science lecture once a week. Nobody else was obliged to attend, and others having to pay extra for doing so, did not attend. Until I got an Exhibition in 1865, I did not even know that there was any such thing as science teaching in the school. Then I had to attend. The lecturer was shared by us with Harrow, and came over once a week. What his name was I forget, if I ever knew. But the lecture was invariably on this wise. "You see these two pith-balls?" "No, sir," said some wag, with his fingers in his eyes, "I don't see any." Or, as a variant, somebody would say, "Two, sir? I see three, sir," and so on. There was an examination at the end of the term; but it was a pure farce. I obtained eight marks out of a hundred, and was never a word the worse. The amount of instruction in science derived was probably rather less than under the "ten lectures a year."

Even mathematics, though more seriously studied, were not conducted with the same seriousness as classics.

A great deal of time was consumed under "John Des," as John Desborough Walford, the first Mathematical Master was called, in "baiting" his assistant. He rejoiced, unfortunately, in the name of Whale. At that time in the lower forms the sums were done on slates, and Mr. Whale was in charge of the can of water and sponge used to clean them. He was generally summoned by the cry of "Whale, a-hoy! Kindly bring the blubber-can this way." If he got annoyed, as he sometimes did, "Whale, a-hoy! there she spouts," was the stock remark. "John Des" was a professional humourist, and the "Walford roar"—as effusive as the laughter of the Junior Bar at a Judge's jokes—which greeted his sallies was a recognised institution. He acted as Domestic Bursar in College, and his best recorded joke was when the Prefect of Hall asked if they were going to have goose on Michaelmas Day (the next day); to which he replied, "You shall have your *anser* to-morrow."

Mathematics, like French, suffered from not having any marks allotted to them, and from being regarded as "extras." For one thing, mathematics were taught in a separate class-room; a hideous modern red-brick appendix to School, on the side away from Cloisters, which was called Walford's. The block contained also Fourth Book, College Prefects' Library, which Dr. Moberly very often used as a classroom, and separated by "Good Friday passage," a "conduit" or washing-place, whence it derived the name of Moab. "Moab is My wash-pot." It was pulled down in 1869. With Mr.

Richardson's appointment to the Second-mastership, the status of mathematics was much improved. Of late years Winchester has been known to produce distinguished mathematicians. Major Scholarships at Trinity, Cambridge, high Wranglerships and other distinctions have fallen to its lot. But it does not yet seem to be possible, as it ought to be, for a boy who is an exceptionally good mathematician only, to attain the same school rank as an ordinarily good classic.

It is more than doubtful whether the practical exclusion of all other subjects but Latin and Greek from the curriculum resulted in any very exceptional attainments even in these subjects. In his evidence before the Public School Commissioners, Dr. Moberly had to defend the reputation of the school by saying that while it did not, perhaps, get so many scholarships and prizes as other schools, it was noted for the production of the best kind of British boys, who did their duty better than any one else in whatever state of life they might be—a claim which could be made with ease and security, being entirely incapable of disproof.

Dr. Moberly was certainly a most brilliant and interesting teacher. He had a most stimulating influence and an admirably lucid style. I had the good fortune to be under him in Senior Part. Some of his most mind-awakening lessons were when he diverged for a time from the perennial classics to something more modern. I can well remember his coming into school the morning on which war was declared between Austria and Prussia in

1866, and saying, "Well, boys, the first shot is being fired to-day in a war that will, perhaps, last half your lifetimes." It was a singularly bad prophecy for the Seven Weeks' War; but it led to a most interesting morning. He proceeded to interrogate us as to what we knew about the geography and history of the countries concerned; and, as we knew next to nothing, proceeded to enlarge on the "Quadrilateral," that forgotten, but then far-famed, congeries of fortresses, the Hapsburgs and Hohenzollerns, and so forth. Another time, when something about India was before the world, after asking a few questions, he said, "Shut up your books, boys," and took us for a voyage round India, stirring us up to interest in a subject of which we had before known nothing, and cared less. Such days were red-letter days. The ordinary days of the calendar were largely concerned with "the dull mechanic exercise" of Latin verses and Latin prose, and painfully turning Latin and Greek into hesitating and halting English.

The day was spent in the following fashion:—At 7 o'clock was chapel, which lasted about twenty minutes. After chapel came morning school, from 7.30 to 8. This was invariably taken up with "Morning Lines," or the repetition of Latin by heart, generally verse, and mostly Virgil. In Junior Part we had to learn twenty lines; in Senior Part I think it extended to forty lines. At 8 was breakfast, which, in our house, partly owing to the distance from College, and partly that punctuality was not a distinguishing feature, was more often 8.30. From 9 to

12 was Middle School, an hour of which was generally spent in preparation, which was done in school, either at the "scob" of a College man or at Commoner table. The hour from 12 to 1 was devoted to games. Wet days were given to fives, or to loafing around in College Street; sometimes at Wells', the bookseller's; more often, perhaps, at La Croix's, the pastrycook's, whose shop was next door to Commoners'. It was a scene of such wild confusion that "Sarah," as Miss La Croix was called, was enclosed in a wire cage, from which she issued the "three-corners," and other delicacies, to the horde of barbarians without. In a small inner room the magnates regaled themselves on hot soup, according to the season, or ices, which were certainly of the largest proportions, and made from the freshest of strawberries. Dinner was at half-past one. At Du Boulay's we never had occasion to complain of the food, which was plentiful in quantity, excellent in quality, and well served.

From 2 to 3 was a free time. We generally spent it on small football in the garden at Du Boulay's, one half of which was devoted to us, or in the fives court attached to the house. In later days one spent it by preference in Grass Court, or the School Fives Courts. In summer we mostly rushed down to Meads to snatch as much cricket as we could. Sometimes we were invited to croquet, then in its first *furor*. At 3 o'clock came afternoon school. The hour from 3 to 4 was a miserable one, as cricket or football, followed by dinner, made one half asleep. Blessed were we in Senior Part in the

summer, when we could do our preparation in Meads, solaced by an occasional gooseberry fool from Mrs. Ferris, the matron of Sick House, the garden of which has now been swallowed up by bricks and mortar. School went on to 6, and was followed at once by tea.

After tea in winter we read or "ballyragged" in Hall (which meant "mugging-hall," as it was called in Commoners, "toy-room," or more commonly, Hall "*simpliciter*," by us), and otherwise amused ourselves till 7.30. From 7.30 to 9 was "toy-time," during which we sat at our respective "toys" and did the hateful "vulgus," or prepared our lessons for the next day. Prayers were preceded by a supper consisting of a glass of beer and bread and cheese. Juniors went to bed at nine, but Prefects and Senior Part were allowed to sit up till ten.

This was the routine every day except Tuesdays and Thursdays, which were "half-remedies" in winter, and Tuesday in summer a "whole remedy." In the winter, on "half-remedies," we went "on Hills" at 2 or 2.30 o'clock. All, except Prefects, marched two and two, College leading, the seniors first. It was very unpleasant for small College juniors with big Commoners treading on their heels, and occasionally kicking them, or indulging in teasing, not easily distinguishable from bullying. When "Tonbridge" (a bridge at the foot of "Hills") was reached, we separated instead of marching in line to the top, as our predecessors had done. There we amused ourselves as we liked till it was time for "Domum," or the homeward march. Climbing "Chalk-pit" was a favourite amusement,

and I well remember in my first term slithering down it from top to bottom, rending a new pair of trousers almost in twain, to my great joy, as they were a terrible purple colour, which had brought me endless chaff. In the spring the cricket season was inaugurated before Easter by junior match on the top of Hills.

This was a great cause of woe to juniors, as they had to "team up Hills." A line of juniors was formed, who held on to each other's coat tails, while His Majesty a Prefect came last, and was pulled up by them. The team were kept up to their work by a "course-keeper," a fag-overseer, with a ground-ash. The process was not so bad for College men, whose long gowns were efficacious harness. But when you only had a jacket or short coat the next steed was inconveniently close on your heels, and it was a most unpleasant *quart d'heure*. Having got into a fierce heat over this compulsory Alpine ascent, we then proceeded to sit on the cold and generally wet ground, to look at the match which was carried on over two or three half-holidays. One spring this was done in snow and hail-storms, with the result that a good dozen, of whom I was one, got pleurisy or inflammation of the lungs. Henceforward junior match was played in Meads, until its abolition in 1870.

In the summer we had "Evening Hills," which were after tea, and were most enjoyable. Bathing at "First Pot"—the first lock on "New Barge," otherwise the canal between Winchester and Southampton, which ran at the foot of Hills—was an unmixed joy. Never

was a better bathing-place than that. The water came bubbling in through the hatches, foaming creamy white, and it was like bathing in champagne to plunge into it and be carried under and thrown up at the farther end. It had grass banks and wooden sides, so that it was not like a modern Thames lock. The ordinary way of getting into the water for fairly expert "purlers" was to take a "gater," which meant clearing the beam, which opened the gate, as you took your "purl." The great artistes were not above taking a "pot-houser." On the opposite side of the lock was a water-mill, for wood work, at which the backs of brushes and such like were made. The "pot-houser" consisted in going on the roof of this house, which was very steep, and running down it. It was extremely dangerous, as, if a foot slipped, you ran a good chance of falling on the wheel, and the lock being narrow, if you ran too hard you were equally in peril of cannoning into the opposite side. "Pot-house" is now pulled down; "Pot Gate" and the hatches are gone to ruin; and this lovely bathing-place exists no more. "Hills" were abolished in 1868; and though twice a year the school resorts thereto for the sake of ancient custom and to maintain ancient rights, Hills is perhaps more frequented by the tourist and the townsfolk than by the sons of Wykeham.

On "Whole Remedies" there was no going up to books except for Morning Lines. From nine to eleven was "Books-Chambers," which meant for us that we did preparation, generally verse-tasks, at our "toys" in the

house. At eleven we were free for the day. Consequently Tuesdays were generally dedicated to "foreign matches," or matches between the school eleven and outsiders. Immense interest was taken in them, and few did anything else in the morning but watch the cricket.

Saturday was rather a terrible day. There was no "Up to Books" in afternoon school, and school ended at 4.45, there being a full chapel at five. This was no doubt a relic of the Worship of the Virgin in Pre-Reformation days, Saturday being peculiarly the Virgin's Day, and the services in her honour being regarded as peculiarly the services of the young. The hour and three-quarters in school was truly awful. The whole school, some 250 boys, was then preparing its lessons, and there being far too many for the building, the crowd was oppressive. Every "scob" square was crowded to its utmost capacity, so were Commoner Tables. The Lower Forms had to sit on the "rows" at the Second-master's end. After chapel, it was the custom for Commoners during my first two years (it must have been stopped by authority afterwards) to play a game called "ally-ally," meaning, perhaps, all against all, in Grass Court. It was simplicity itself, consisting in throwing at each other at short range a "small crocketts" ball. "Crocketts" was cricket; "Small crocketts" consisted of cricket played by College on Ball Court, by Commoners in Flint Court, and by Houses on their Fives Courts, with a narrow wooden bat, without any cane in the handle, and a red indiarubber ball with a wooden core. In theory, I suppose, ally-ally was a game of catch; in

SCHOOL IN 1816.

From drawing in Achermann's "Public Schools."

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fact it was a species of target practice with your neighbour's body for the target, at point-blank range. Naturally, it was rather better sport for the bigger boys than the smaller. It was a game, however, which even in my first year I thoroughly enjoyed. Owing to an accident, when I was a small boy, which had permanently crooked my arm at the elbow, I was able to throw, especially at short distances, much harder than most. So I used to look forward to ally-ally as a safe means of revenge on some of my petty tyrants. There were two men in my own house, some two or three years older than me, to whom I owed a good many "shrewd nips," as Catharine Parr did to her husband, Admiral Seymour. My object always was to get as near one or both of them as possible. A well-delivered ball at five yards' distance in the enemy's side or on the fleshy part of his thigh was some return for a good many kicks and hits. A game which gave such opportunities for the indulgence of one's evil passions was not, perhaps, a very good game to encourage; but I can remember that life was distinctly flatter when ally-ally was put down by authority.

In my time at Du Boulay's, "toys" were in what is now the Dining Hall, and there were studies for the five seniors, and "toys" for two or three more in what is now the House Library, then called Study Room. All the "toys" are now in the same room, with five studies at the end. The former system was certainly more conducive to work among the upper boys, though perhaps not so for those who resided in Hall.

In my early days Morning Lines were a great institution. They were mostly put off to bedtime, or to the short interval in school after chapel and before one's own turn came to say them. The quantity that one could pass through one's mind in this way, leaving no trace behind, was astonishing. One year, I am not sure whether it was my first or second year, we had "standing up." Dr. Moberly, in his evidence to the Public School Commissioners, gave an instance of a boy who knew a whole play of Sophocles without a mistake. Adams' *Wykehamica* speaks of 13,000 and 14,000 lines when a good deal more time was devoted to it. Our efforts were puny in comparison. I took up Virgil's 2nd *Æneid*; half of the Third Book of Horace's Odes; a large slice, whence cut I forget, of Livy; achieved full marks; and forgot it all in a month.

In consequence, probably, of the Public Schools Commission Inquiry this was the last "standing up" which took place. When the exclusive cultivation of verses ceased, when classical quotations were no longer expected, or indeed tolerated, in the House of Commons, at public meetings, or in the pulpit, the possession of a vast hoard of classical verses in the memory ceased to be of value; and the time and labour spent in acquiring them was more profitably given to other subjects.

XXIX

THE OLD ORDER CHANGETH

AT Christmas, 1866, Dr. Moberly retired from the Head-mastership after a chequered career, extending over a generation, ending, as it had begun, with a period of innovation and increase. He retired, in the first instance, to a Fellowship of the College, and the rectory of Brighstone, in the Isle of Wight, and then to the Bishopric of Salisbury.

He was succeeded by "George Ridding," as he was always called in the School, afterwards shortened into "Ja Ra," the Second-master; a Craven Scholar and Fellow of Exeter College. There were 204 Commoners when he entered office, about equally divided between old Commoners and new Tutors' Houses. During his reign the numbers advanced by leaps and bounds until it was determined, about 1870, to fix the number of the School at 420, as being the highest number that could be accommodated in Chapel and Chantry combined.

The present Head-master, the Reverend William Andrewes Fearon, fresh from being a Fellow and Tutor of New College, Oxford, in 1868, opened a new house in Culver's Close (that now occupied by Mr. Ken-

sington). He was followed by Mr. Fred Morshead, also a Fellow of New College, Head-master of Beaumaris Grammar School in Anglesey, in Short Half of the same year. Both houses were built by a local architect in a style redolent of "Commoners" before it was transformed; and suggesting, by its architecture, a barracks or a work-house. In 1869 the Reverend Charles Halford Hawkins added Southgate House, which being an old house adapted, compared, and compares, very favourably with its immediate predecessors, especially in its picturesque garden. These completed the tale of houses during my stay at the School.

New developments took place on all sides. In October 1866, the School paper, *The Wykehamist*, made its first appearance under the "able editorship" of a Committee, A. W. Reith, R. B. Schomberg, and Julian Robinson, and then of S. H. Gatty, the son of *Aunt Judy*, with an inherited literary capacity. It perhaps was most flourishing editorially in the early seventies under the editorships of G. E. Buckle, now Editor of the *Times*, E. T. Cook, Editor of the *Daily News*, and J. E. Vincent, Editor of *Country Life*.

In the same term the Debating Society started, under the presidency of Mr. Hawkins, to whose energy Winchester is indebted for the Glee Club and many other developments, in the adoption of which it had too long lagged behind more modern rivals.

Among the most successful of new developments was the Shakespeare Reading Society, and its outcome

"Theatricals." It is a strange thing that in a school devoted wholly to classical, and thereby, *ex hypothesi*, literary learning, Shakespeare Society was founded, in 1861 or 1862, by two non-Wykehamists, both of them mathematical masters—Walford ("John Des") and Mr. Hawkins. The School contributed twelve members, and the Society met in Mr. Walford's house in College Street every Saturday evening, and read a play at a sitting.

In 1865 the Society blossomed out into a performance of *The Merchant of Venice* at Chernocke House. It was noticeable for a very handsome *Jessica*, J. W. Maxwell-Lyte; an admirable *Portia*, L. A. Dering; and a *Basanio*, who hardly looked the part. Indeed, he afterwards became the subject of a memorable rhyme:—

Undergraduate — of Oriel,
Ugly enough to make a John Dory ill.

Mr. Hawkins, as *Shylock*, was excellent. Next year a larger stage was adopted in Commoner "Mugging Hall," the east side of Commoners, and *Hamlet* was the play. L. A. Dering made a magnificent *Queen*, and S. H. Gatty's *Grave-digger* raised that small part into one of first-rate importance, while J. F. Clerk, as *King*, showed how much the play loses on the ordinary stage by the robustious thick-voiced persons to whom that part generally falls. It is curious, by the way, to find that the performance took place on August 31 and September 1, after the summer holidays, which then began in the middle of July.

In 1867, Theatricals, now dignified as "Winchester Play," took place on 5th and 6th September in "Mugging Hall." Mr. Hawkins' *Macbeth* was a novel and interesting creation, as it represented that "half-felon and half-knight" as a murderer of the craven type, with shaking knees and tremulous voice, an impersonation afterwards adopted by Sir Henry Irving.

I performed *Macduff*, a difficult part enough in any event, and nearly upset altogether by an untoward incident. The scene in which Macduff utters the well-known line, "What, all my pretty chickens and their dam at one fell swoop!" followed the witches' cauldron scene, magnificently acted by S. H. Gatty. When the news of the total destruction of my family was being broken to me, hearing suppressed giggles, I looked round and saw that a gigantic toad had been left behind by the witches, and was listening with evident interest to the conversation. A surreptitious kick to try and get it off the stage only made it tumble up against the back-scene, and stand reared up on its hind legs with gaping mouth. A hurried messenger had to be sent in to carry it off, to the no small delight of the audience. The play was a great success owing to the extraordinary power of L. A. Dering's *Lady Macbeth*. Divers divinities of the stage have appeared in the part since; but it is doubtful whether any of them approached Dering's presentment, in tragic simplicity and pathos. The same may be said, though in that case it is less surprising, of the *Cordelia* of C. R. H. Hill, and the *Fool* of C. C. Maconochie in

1868. Nor is this an opinion coloured by the glamour of youth at the time, or through the mist of years now. It is not really a paradox that *Cordelia* or even *Lady Macbeth* should be better presented by school-boys than by professional actresses. After all, the parts of Shakespeare's women were written for, and intended to be performed by, boys.

In the minor parts, undoubtedly, our plays were better presented all round than in the ordinary theatre, where "Eve's one star" is surrounded by a company of second or third-rate satellites; who in the parts of dukes and earls can neither speak nor walk like gentlemen.

Mr. Hawkins' *King Lear* was, I believe, unsurpassable; it certainly has not been surpassed on the modern stage, where it is very rarely played. As a contemporary critic remarked: "There was just such a mixture of anger and tenderness, weakness and vehemence, as seems to make up the ideal of King Lear, together with a well-studied representation of the effect of the gradual loss of reason."

It was quite right, perhaps, after the supreme success of *King Lear*, that there should have been a pause in Winchester Plays. Any other might have resulted in an anti-climax. But it is much to be regretted that they have never been resumed. They gave a great impetus to the interest taken not only in Shakespeare but in English Literature generally; and they certainly did not diminish the interest taken in Greek Plays.

In the days of good Queen Bess the Account Books

have many entries relating to the plays performed by the boys. Thus, in 1574, the organ was moved from Chapel to Hall for it, and payments are duly entered for "the taking up and down of the scaffolding and stage-houses (*domunculis*) in Hall, for the seven links and the dozen candles for the plays of tragedies and comedies." In 1583 the cost of erecting scenes in Hall for comedies amounted to the considerable sum of £3. 8s. 10d. It is difficult to believe that what was thought good in this way for the education of the Elizabethan is really bad for the Victorian schoolboy. The plays in my time were followed by farces, not perhaps of the highest order of art, and epilogues, composed by Mr. Hawkins, stuffed with some good specimens of the bad puns that were then the making of burlesques. But, if it is necessary that all the plays should be instructive, instead of having Greek Plays as at Bradfield, or Latin Plays as at Westminster, a striking sensation might be caused by the production of some of the old English dramas preserved in the so-called *Townley Mysteries*, or the York Play of *Corpus Christi*. We should like to see Herod "raging" at his knights, and the great Doctor Caiaphas putting points of law.

Shakespeare Society still flourishes under Mr. Hawkins' presidency; and in default of regular theatricals gives "Open Nights" and "Ladies' Nights" which are quite social functions. In 1887 it put forth a volume of *Noctes Shaksperianae*, which was quite a valuable contribution to Shakespearean literature.

An English Literature prize which originated in 1872 with Mr. Hawkins, and is given by him, may also be regarded as a by-product of Shakespeare Society. It is keenly competed for, and the knowledge of English Literature shown by the first flight in the competition is said to be remarkable.

When Dr. Ridding became Head-master, he was succeeded by the Reverend James John Hornby, now Provost of Eton, as Second-master. Mr. Hornby stayed all too short a time before proceeding to the Head-mastership of Eton. His kindness made him an universal favourite, and his scholarship was of great help to those who took pains to profit by it. I was under him for his first half-year in Junior Division, Sixth Book. One's tendency in that division during the first calm, after the storm and stress of the daily taking of places up and down in Senior Part, was to enjoy the *dolce far niente*. We went up to books in College Prefects' Library, and on the desks some old numbers of *Punch* and the *Illustrated London News* used to lie—which proved to some of us more attractive than Sophocles. Dr. Hornby put his foot down on me once to my great advantage. All Commoner Prefects had been ordered to go in for English Speech, that is, to compete for the silver medal given by the Crown for the best recitation of a passage from some English orator, and in which as a rule only Senior Division of Sixth Book competed. I had disregarded the injunction. Hornby asked me why? To which I replied (as the fact was), that I did not see the good of standing up to make a fool of myself.

Whereon he ordered me to learn the speech, and attend at the second hearing with those who had been selected for further audience. The speech in question was a passage from a splendid invective of the great Lord Chatham on the subject of the American War of Independence. Greatly to my surprise, I was adjudged the medal, and had to deliver the speech on *Domum Day*.

This was a very trying ordeal, first, from the size of the audience, not because it was big, but because it was little; secondly, because the unhappy Commoner had to declaim his oration in full evening costume in the middle of the day. With the odd minimising spirit which is characteristic of Winchester, Medal-speaking was not a great function like Speech-Day at Harrow; but a miserable huddled performance in which everybody appeared to be ashamed of himself, and anxious to get away as soon as possible. Hardly any one in the School attended besides the performers and those who had got prizes, except College Juniors, who, it was understood, were under orders from College Prefects to furnish a *claque*. A very few mothers and sisters who had come down for *Domum*, and fewer dons and donnesses, occupied the rows usually occupied by Sixth Book. The only august part of the ceremony was the unwonted presence of the Warden on the Head-master's throne, flanked by the Head and Second-masters in the lower thrones on each side. Few things more depressing can be imagined than to recite to such an audience. It would be far better

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COMMONERS' HALL AND TOWER FROM GRASS COURT.

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either to abolish Medal-speaking altogether or to make it a real function, as is done in other Schools.

Dr. Ridding's reign was signalised by considerable changes in the curriculum. English Classics were read, as well as Latin and Greek. Chaucer and Bacon took their places in school by the side of Virgil and Cicero. English Essays were no longer confined to the one prize composition in the summer. History, both ancient and modern, was studied in a more systematic manner, and not merely as incidental to some author who was being read at the time. Greater latitude, too, was allowed for individual predilections. Greek Iambics, for instance, were to me a stone of stumbling and a rock of offence: so much so, that when I once produced by an accident a really good copy, the Head-master unkindly asked whether I had done them myself. Afterwards, he did not press for them, and allowed me to devote myself rather to History and English. Though Natural Science did not affect Sixth Book, who were past praying for in that matter, it was placed in a very different position generally when Mr. George Richardson, the present Second-master, came as a Resident Master, and Mr. Griffith, who had long been famous for classical scholarship, presided over geology. The new *régime* bore quick fruit: as a fellow Du Boulayite, A. du B. Hill, got a Science Demyship at Magdalen, Oxford, in 1869. More Masters came, and the Forms were reduced to more manageable dimensions.

It was a pity that when this occurred the nomenclature of the Forms was made more intricate by abolishing Fourth

Book. It was considered a sort of disgrace to be placed in Fourth Book. But there must be a bottom Form to the School, whatever the standard of that Form is, and it can never be a mark of honour to be in it. The only effect of abolishing Fourth Book has been to make it more or less discreditable to be in "Junior Part." Senior Division Junior Part, used to be quite a respectable position; and, when I was first in it, contained seven College boys. There is now only one division in Junior Part, and that is shrunk to about a dozen boys, so that the Junior Division of Middle Part is following the same course of evanescence that Fourth Book underwent thirty years ago. The result is that all sorts of complicated sections have had to be invented for Fifth Book. There are still only two divisions in Sixth Book, though for two years, 1867 and 1868, there was a Middle Division. Fifth Book is divided into Senior Part, with two parallel Senior divisions; two Middle divisions; and two Junior divisions. Middle Part has two parallel Senior divisions; two second divisions; two third divisions; and a Junior division: while Junior Part consists of only one division.

That a boy is in a "Parallel Division of the Senior Division of Middle Part of Fifth Book" is a most lucid and illuminating piece of intelligence to a parent, especially a non-Wykehamical parent, and the division in question is remarkably easy to distinguish from, say, the "Parallel Division of the Middle Division of Senior Part of Fifth Book." If the process of the extinction of the lower forms goes on, in another generation the whole School will be

in various divisions of some Part of Sixth Book, and the question of the fagging of Sixth Book inferiors will again become a burning one. The reform that was really needed was the revival, if they ever existed, or the creation, if they did not ever exist, of a Third, Second, and First Book. The names of the Forms would then have conveyed some faint notion of the relative position of boys in the School, which they effectually conceal now.

In School work in summer there was considerable variety. For four or five weeks out of the term the Senior Division of Sixth Book escaped a good many hours of School, which were devoted to "Medal Tasks," the prize compositions in Greek, Latin, and English. The subjects were given out on Monday to be delivered on the Sunday morning after. Somehow or other, with the best intentions to get them done early, they were too generally ended in an all-night sitting on Saturday. Keen was the feeling of relief when the morning light came in and enabled one to dispense with a smelling lamp, and the morning air freshened one up to finish the task and deposit it at the Head-master's house on the way to eight o'clock chapel.

"Du Boulayites" certainly at that time took a leading place. Numbering not more than thirty-three, in 1866, 1868, and the two years following, we had a representative on the Roll for New College, besides getting a Demyship at Magdalen and an Exhibition at Exeter College. From 1863 to 1869 the whole of the rest of

Commoners won only two New College scholarships. Three out of the eight Commoner Exhibitions were also held in our house. Nor were we deficient in athletics. In sports we almost swept the board in 1868 and 1870. In 1868 we had four out of Houses "Six," including captain and second captain, beating College and tying with Commoners; and if we had nobody in "Lord's" our geographical disadvantages largely accounted for that.

At the end of my time, Dr. Ridding effected a change which revolutionised the outer aspect of the School life.

The abolition of "Commoners"—the Head-master's house—was due, as we flattered ourselves, to the success of Houses in general, and Du Boulay's house in particular. It must have required no small degree of courage to carry out. If it left the Head-master free to devote himself more effectively to organisation and the interests of the School as a whole, yet it must have meant a very considerable pecuniary sacrifice. It was also breaking up an institution which had existed for 100 years; which had been imitated in the Schoolhouse at Rugby and passed thence to Marlborough and Clifton, and a host of other great and successful schools. It was, indeed, acknowledging an error, repaying to Eton the compliment of imitation, and returning to the original system at Winchester itself.

The "Oppidan" system of separate houses has commended itself to the world as superior to the one great Commoners at Winchester with its hundred boys. There is always a tendency to the barbaric in great masses crowded

together and living wholly in public. In the sphere of the school as in the sphere of the state, local self-government under central control is better than direct administration by the central authority. Evils will spring up from time to time in all schools, but they are more easily seen and more easily checked, and their effect is not nearly so widespread nor so disastrous to the school in the system of small houses as in the system of barracks. *Divide et impera*. Judged by results the change was certainly most beneficial. Never has Winchester stood higher in the scholastic world. Never has it been so sought after by parents as since the change from Commoners to Tutors' Houses.

Commoners came to an end with the summer term of 1869.

The existing Commoners were drafted into five houses; Mr. Hawkins' and the four houses in Culver's Close, of which the two newest, those of Mr. J. T. Bramston and Mr. E. W. Sergeant (afterwards Mr. Phillips', and now Mr. Hewett's) received the greater part. Owing to most of the prominent cricketers and football players going into one or other of these houses the Culver's Close houses managed to retain to themselves the title of Commoners. It was a gross misnomer, as the majority even in the new houses were not in old Commoners; and a minority in the old houses were in old Commoners. It is also confusing, as every one in all the houses, new or old, is equally a Commoner.

However, persistence carried the day. The four new

Houses banded together were more powerful than the scattered old Houses, and have successfully arrogated the title to themselves. It is curious to read, in the columns of the *Wykehamist*, at the time the change was made, doubts expressed whether any interest would be kept up in the matches between the three divisions of the School, and then to hear the shouts of Commoners and Houses at Fifteens or Sixes. Lack of interest does not seem to be the prevailing characteristic.

The abolition of "Commoners" as a "house" was followed by the transformation of "Commoners" as a building, from its simple barrack hideousness into a decent specimen of the Elizabethan style. The central portion was opened in 1870 as a school library, called Moberly Library, in honour of Dr. Moberly, whose picture (a very fair portrait) smiles over the room. The pent-house, or cloister, outside was taken down, and the wings, whose gable-ends are quite a picturesque feature, were converted into classrooms, including excellent chemical and physical laboratories.

In 1870 a change was made, which was almost as important for the amenity of life in College as that which had just taken place for "Commoners"—the removal of the Scholars' bed-chambers from the ground-floor upstairs. This step only became theoretically possible when the Fellows disappeared. As their residence was represented by angels' visits, once or twice a year for a night or two, it might have taken place any time in the previous century. The process of removal

was gradual, and is even now not complete, as Fourth still lingers on the ground-floor. Why? If for want of room, room could advantageously be found by the removal to Moberly Library of the Fellows' Library, now gloomy from disuse. The old chambers are now used as studies.

It is much to be regretted that when the change was made the old "toys" were ruthlessly destroyed, and the old oak bedsteads also. The destruction of "toys" was mere wantonness, as they had to be replaced by new ones. There was at the time a prejudice against wooden beds, which, having been given away or sold for an old song, are now again coming into fashion, being bought for great sums. Dean Fleshmonger's oaken bedsteads might have been suffered to remain.

The increase of numbers led to great changes in another building. Chapel had of course been gutted at the Reformation, when painted images and rich hangings disappeared. That was inevitable. But in 1636 the Chapel had been wainscoted all round the walls, and a very handsome reredos with Ionic columns was erected in 1687 at the east end. The wainscoting was simple and in good taste. It was reserved for the nineteenth century to make havoc of the place. The first and worst act of vandalism was the destruction of the windows in 1823-28. The old glass was given, stolen, or thrown away, and the present inferior imitation with its miserable mauves and thin purples, put in its place, at a cost of £1600 (*Annals*). One of the old

side windows is preserved in South Kensington Museum. It is just as well that it is no longer in a place where it can be compared with its substitute. After half a century's peace a new destruction, under the name of restoration, took place, in 1874-75. Butterfield, the inventor of the Zebraesque style in architecture, seen at a bad best in the modern Keble College, and at its worst in the barber's poles into which he converted the Norman columns at St. Cross Hospital, was let loose on Chapel. He tore down the reredos and the wainscot, which had at least the respectable antiquity of two hundred and fifty years. The wainscoting is, or was a few weeks ago, on sale for £1600 to the College. The brasses on the floor were torn up, and either ruthlessly destroyed or allowed to be stolen—nobody knows what has become of them. If it had not been that Dr. Edwin Freshfield, solicitor to the Bank of England, had fortunately when he was a boy at the School taken rubbings of them, their very memory would have perished. By his munificence they have been reproduced. But the best reproduction is poor compensation for the loss of the originals of upwards of four hundred years old.

The reredos was "restored," and has since been filled with the figures of a mixed lot of saints. Why St. Benedict and St. Alban and St. Augustin of Hippo, the saints of the monastic orders, should have been included to adorn the chapel of the secular Wykeham, it would be, no doubt, useless to inquire. Boniface,

the apostle of Germany, and James, the patron saint of Spain and a centre of superstition, seem equally out of place. It is a sign of grace in the designer that he included Wykeham himself and Alfred the Great. The figures are, however, dignified; and when we look on some specimens of modern ecclesiastical sculpture, we may be thankful.

The most destructive alteration was the removal of the seats, placed College-wise, running east and west; the substitution for them of a number of smart yellow pews looking east, and the elevation of the choir on a platform several feet above the rest of the chapel, placed in the proper attitude east and west. At first sight one would suppose that it had been arranged as it has in order that the boys might worship the choir. It is enough to make one weep with envy to go into Eton Chapel and contrast its still dignified arrangement and the way in which that has been treated, with the stripped and bare walls of its prototype.

Reforms spread to everything. All "bounds" were abolished, and we were allowed to go everywhere and anywhere except in the town of Winchester. Sumptuary laws as to dress were discarded as antiquated. The tall black hat, which had been compulsory on every one but Prefects outside College, was abolished, to the great relief of the wearer's brain and the parent's pocket. The black coat, equally compulsory, followed it into limbo. To the horror of the fogies and the pedants light coats were allowed everywhere, even in Chapel and School.

Winchester is, I believe, still the only public school which has adopted the very sensible rule of having no rule of dress, at least for Commoners. It only remains to extend the same sensible rule to College. As has been pointed out, the present gown is not the original gown either in shape or colour. It is not a cheap garment, though the cloth is given by College; the College tailor manages to make the charge for it and the waistcoat almost as much as an ordinary coat and waistcoat. Another suit is not dispensed with as it is with Christ's Hospital boys, as on leave-out days and holidays a College boy appears in *mufti*. It is a very awkward garment for any form of violent exercise, and a gown on a bicycle or on "Hills," tucked up in a little bundle behind, is only a ridiculous-looking encumbrance.

The original gown was simply the ordinary clerical clothing of the day. Really to carry out Wykeham's intention, the scholars should be dressed in long coats, high waistcoats, all-round collars, white ties, and black wideawakes. We do not suppose that even the Archbishop of Canterbury would desire that. Why is not the logical course adopted, and the old-fashioned but not ancient funereal garment dropped altogether? Distinctions in dress, whether regarded as an honour or the reverse, are invidious. If the authorities cannot rise to the height of dropping the gown altogether, they might follow the precedent of Eton and Oxford and confine to School and Chapel the use of the gown, made of some thin material.

A WINCHESTER SCHOLAR, 1898.

From photograph by Mr. J. Abley.

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XXX

PASTURES NEW

GREAT changes took place in the province of games. Increasing numbers, through the addition of Tutors' Houses, had made the field of selection for cricket and football teams so much wider for Commoners against College that the old matches had become a farce, and College was almost always overpowered. A good deal of feeling had also sprung up between the two sections of Commoners. When I first went the boys in Houses were mostly young and small. In 1866, with some ninety boys, we were nearly as numerous as old Commoners, and when a House-man, Leonard Howell, by far the best bat in the school, became captain of cricket, and in Senior match, between College and Commoners, the great internal match of the year, three or four of the best players came from the same house, it was no longer possible to ignore the rise of "Houses." In the football season the question became a burning one. The matches then played were "Twenty-two" (*i.e.* twenty-two a side), "Six and six," and "Second six." College could find six players on an average not inferior to six from Commoners; but it was almost impossible from seventy boys

to find twenty-two at all equal in weight and size to those selected from two hundred. Consequently the first number of the *Wykehamist* opened with an appeal for the substitution of eleven a side for twenty-two, and the separation of the school for game purposes into three divisions—College, Commoners, and Houses. “Twenty-two,” however, was played once more, and the event, in spite of brilliant play by leading College men, proved the absolute impossibility of continuing the game. In the “hots,” the superior weight of Commoners, all pretty much of a size, proved irresistible. I played in this the last “Twenty-two,” and was glad it was the last. “Hot watches” had not been invented ; there were three behinds only, so that the hot consisted of nineteen a side. It was such a crowd that it was almost impossible to get to the ball unless you carried it through a hot, and at least half the time the ball was kept “under ropes,” between, that is, the ropes which mark the ground and the netting which kept the ball in. This was the first occasion on which, in a match, netting had been substituted for the living wall of boys. The only incident I can recall in the game was a tremendous collision between the head of C. K. D. Tanner (now Dr. Tanner, M.P., of the Irish contingent) and a post. It resounded over the ground, but to all appearance the head was none the worse for it.

A good deal of feeling was evoked by “Twenty-two Roll.” It was felt that Houses had not been given their fair share. I had no reason to complain of my place,

FIFTEENS—HOUSES v. COMMONERS, 1883.

From photograph by Rev. J. T. Bramston.

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which was sixth—not a bad one at the age of fifteen—but others were neglected. The result was a challenge to play a game of eight a side. The event amply justified the challenge. It was a walk-over for Houses. We beat them at every point of the game, and won by 15 to 8. Yet notwithstanding this (or perhaps because of it), when the roll for Six-and-Six came down, except the second captain, Charles Marriott, who was second behind, and was indispensable as well as irremovable, not a single House-man was put into Six. The result was that College won an easy victory by 16 to 6. In second Six, on the other hand, in which there were three House-men, the score was exactly reversed. Fourteen out of the sixteen goals were got by Strutt and Hodgson, two House-men. After this, division became imperative. This year, for the first time, inter-house matches were played. Du Boulay's beat "Moabites" by one goal, and "Beetleites" by ten, while Du Boulay's beat "Beetleites" by five goals.

The next struggle between Houses and Commoners arose over the Athletic Sports. They had hitherto been managed by a College and a Commoner Prefect. It was now proposed to have a committee of nine, and on this committee Houses claimed separate and equal representation, and after a fierce debate obtained it. Again, the result justified Houses, as they won as many events as Commoners, and more than College. Two days after the athletic struggle, division was finally determined on.

The cricket season of 1867 saw three Junior Matches,

Middle Matches, and Senior Matches between the three divisions, and neither could claim a decided advantage. At football, for some curious conservative reason, College, which had begun the agitation for the abolition of Twenty-two, refused to play Commoners at Fifteen a side, the game substituted for it, though they played Houses. Second Six was abolished. In 1868 the games were most exciting. College and Commoners, and College and Houses tied in Fifteens, and Commoners beat Houses. In Six-and-Six, College beat Commoners by one goal; Houses beat College by two goals, and tied with Commoners. The excitement was increased by the fact that a good many House-men cheered for College, as against Commoners, which Commoners resented as a desertion.

The results in football from 1868 to 1898 have been :—

| | Fifteens. | Sixes. |
|------------------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| College v. Houses . | 15 to 14 : 2 drawn | 16 to 12 : 3 drawn |
| College v. Commoners . | 9 to 17 : 5 ,, | 7 to 21 : 3 ,, |
| Houses v. Commoners . | 7 to 20 : 4 ,, | 9 to 20 : 2 ,, |

The position of College in the contest, with its much smaller numbers, 70 against 180 in Houses and 150 in Commoners, shows that intellectual is not incompatible with physical excellence. Closer neighbourhood *inter se* and to Meads no doubt account for the superiority of College and Commoners to the more distant and scattered Houses.

It was a mistake that Six-and-Six was not at this time of change converted into Eight-and-Eight. In

my time the game was played four a side in the "hot," with a second and last behind. In 1868, owing to an accident, though properly an "up," I was unable to "hot," and being captain and able to place myself, took to shirking the "hot," playing outside it. J. B. Moyle had done the same in Fifteens. The advantage of a fresh man meeting the more or less spent carrier of a hot was a manifest success, and the modern "hot-watch" on each side was developed. But a hot of only three a side is not a hot; and the game becomes too fast. It was the opinion both of those who played, and of those who watched the eight-a-side game between Houses and Commoners in 1866, that it was the ideal mean for Winchester Football, in which the "hot" is an essential incident.

If I had not witnessed an extremely fast and brilliant game between College and Commoners this year, 1898, I should have said that "Fifteens" was as much too large a game as six is too small. In the long narrow ground in which the Winchester game is played there is really not room for thirty players. The expedient adopted this year for the first time, of four "hot" watches on each side, seems to have materially improved the game and has, perhaps, saved it. But twelve a side would be better; especially if Six-and-Six is retained.

In the winter of 1868 an event took place which, perhaps, did more than any other of the changes effected by Dr. Ridding to restore Winchester to its old position among schools. This was the opening of New Field,

as by a poverty-stricken nomenclature it is called. The acquisition of these splendid playing-fields was due, almost entirely, to the enterprise and largely to the munificence of Dr. Ridding himself. It would have been appropriate if, in recognition of this—and it is even now not too late — New Field were called Ridding Meads, or—by a place-name well-known to antiquaries—the Riddings.

There could be no more striking example of the vicious conservatism which had fallen like a blight on Winchester in the early part of the present century, than the way in which it had been allowed to drop behind other schools in the matter of recreation-grounds. Eton had its ample Playing-fields, apparently from a time when the memory of man runneth not to the contrary. Rugby had its School Close of eight acres in 1816, and of thirteen acres long before 1861. Even Westminster, surrounded and swallowed up by London, had its spacious Vincent Square. But Winchester was still, in 1867, confined to the narrow bounds of its beautiful but straitened Meads, which are some four acres only. For everyday purposes the use even of those was confined to the seventy College boys. Foreign matches and matches between College and Commoners were played there, but even for them it was too small. A half-volley is or was called a “Barter” at Winchester, from Warden Barter having sent, so the tale ran, three successive balls of that kind over Meads Wall. Many a time has the ruddy beauty of a new match-ball been scarred by its contact with the

SINES—COLLEGE V. COMMONERS, 1898.

To face p. 30a.

flints with which Wykeham built the oldest portion of the wall. Except for matches, Commoners, the larger portion of the School, had been till 1860 quite shut off from Meads, and confined to Grass Court by walls at top and bottom. In my time the walls had disappeared. But Grass Court was of a size barely sufficient for a "Long game" at football, *i.e.* a practice game of juniors, presided over by one or two Prefects. It was useless for cricket. For cricket and regular football games we resorted to Commoner Field, a not very level piece of land of some four acres, which, except for a pitch in the middle, was subject to the invasion of cows, being hired from a farmer commonly called Nevvie. It was near Bar End, a good way from Commoners, and a very long way from Du Boulay's house. The absence of a better ground, and the impossibility of sufficient practice, was one of the reasons, more even than the great disparity in numbers, why for years Winchester had been beaten by Eton at cricket, and never won all the time I was at the School.

It is true that in 1864 Winchester lost, with 170 runs in hand, which Eton should have had no chance of making, owing to its continuing the match for Eton's benefit in pouring rain, when the bowler could hardly stand, and catch after catch was missed through the ball being soaking wet. Eton won with the loss of only one wicket. This chivalry was ill-requited in the following year. Winchester, with a strong batting team, had scored 242, and Eton had lost 6 wickets for 114. A shower

occurring, S. G. Lyttelton, the Eton captain, who had been caught out from a fine hit in the long-field, disappeared to Windsor, with the bails in his pocket, it was said, and could not be found to continue the match, though the weather cleared up. The rest of the matches from 1863 to 1869 were easy victories for Eton.

In 1868 football was played on New Field, and next year Lavender Meads—the Laundresses' meadow—between it and Meads' Wall, was thrown in. In 1894 Dogger's Close, part of the belongings of the Friars Carmelite obtained from Henry VIII., was added.

Now Winchester Meads are second to no cricket-ground in the kingdom in extent. None can surpass them in beauty. Backed by "immemorial elms" which shut out the road, with the graceful white tower of Chapel, and the grey red-capped wall of Meads seen through scattered big trees on the north, they have the singular charm of being entirely open on the east, the longest side. Bordered by Mill stream, they look across the ever-green water meadows, through which the Itchen with its silent stream eats its way, to the soft swell of "Hills," and the open downs beyond, across which the incessant chase of sunshine and shadow give at once the charm of eternal sameness and perpetual variety.

New Field made all the difference to Winchester cricket. Since 1869 Winchester, in spite of numbers, some 400 against Eton's 1000, has fairly divided the honours of victory with Eton. The matches of 1870 and 1871 were among the most keenly contested in the annals of Public

OLD BARGE AND HILLS.

To face p. 904.

School cricket. They were both bowlers' games. In the first innings of Eton in 1870, half the eleven got "crocketts" (Wykehamical for 0), and only one, A. T. Lyttelton, achieved double figures, 15. The total score was 46. Winchester exactly doubled this score. C. H. Guinness, afterwards the first managing director of the great Dublin Company whose name he bore, made the scores of the match, 44 not out and 25. Eton, in the second innings, achieved the tolerable score of 121. It looked a moral for Winchester. But a sad attack of "nerves" set in, and 11 runs were still wanted when the last man, H. Awdry, went in, and with J. B. Moyle (now D.C.L. and Bursar of New College) got them. The excitement of some old Wykehamists is said to have resulted in tears at this first win for eleven long years. The record of G. S. Raynor, who afterwards bowled for Cambridge, was eleven wickets for 57 runs, and that of Moyle six for 72 runs.

The next year was quite as exciting. Winchester, after a terribly bad first innings of 60 against 82, set Eton the task of making 80 to win in the second innings, which, thanks to Moyle and Raynor, who, with the exception of 3 overs in the first innings, bowled throughout the match, it failed to do by 8 runs. After these two efforts the tide again flowed to Eton, who won by an innings and 125 runs in 1872; the afterwards famous Surrey captain, J. Shuter, contributing a pair of spectacles to the Winchester score. In the next ten years Winchester only won once, in 1878, when A. T. Thring

and C. L. Hickley achieved a bowling success. In 1880 Winchester disgraced itself by omitting to get 13 runs with 4 wickets to go down, P. J. de Paravicini preventing their getting more than four of them. 1882, by an innings and 20 runs, and 1883, by 224 runs, were easy wins for Winchester. 1884 ought to have been the same, but B. E. Nicholls and J. M. Swayne, whose bowling had carried all before them for two years and disposed of Eton in the first innings for 54, were beaten by H. Philipson in Eton's second innings, and what looked a "moral" for Winchester was converted into an Eton victory by 5 wickets.

The year 1888 ushered in a period of Wykehamist predominance. That year there was a draw heavily in favour of Winchester, who next year won by 114; and in 1890 drew, leaving Eton 7 wickets to fall, still wanting 39 runs to avoid a single innings defeat. H. D. G. Leveson-Gower, the Oxford captain, and J. R. Mason, the Kent captain, were the great guns for Winchester. In 1891 and 1892 there were substantial Wykehamist victories. Then Eton had two fat years. 1896 was an 8-wicket affair for Winchester. In 1897 there was a curiously even first innings, 85 v. 89. E. B. Noel, the racquet player, with E. O. Lewin, then won the match by scoring 91 in 70 minutes. The last bat for Eton, C. H. Browning, the Captain of the School, made, however, a most unpleasant stand, and with 25 not out reduced what looked like a hollow victory to the modest dimensions of 51 runs. This year (1898) the game was played

in the vilest weather, in which Eton had the best of the luck; and the match was drawn greatly in their favour, though with Noel and R. S. Darling, the captain for 1899, still in and playing with confidence, the game was not perhaps lost.

The nett result on the twenty-nine years, 1870 to 1898, is 15 wins for Eton and 10 for Winchester, with four draws, two heavily in favour of Winchester, one in favour of Eton, and one which was anybody's game. The big battalions have, therefore, won on the whole, though not in proportion to their bigness. At least three matches were lost by Winchester through attacks of the nerves. Eton appears to be less liable to these, for the sufficient reason that to them the match is not as it is to Winchester, the event of the year. The match with Harrow at Lord's is naturally the one they are keenest to win, and the Winchester match affords them an opportunity of testing their strength and training their nerve. Besides, Eton looks forward with as great, or greater keenness, to the struggle on the water at Henley, as it does to the struggle on land. To Winchester the sole "international" event of the year is Eton match.

It may be that now the resumption of matches at Lord's with Harrow as well as Eton is not possible. It is easy to abandon a post of vantage, and not always easy to regain it. Even Eton writers, like R. H. Lyttelton (*Wisden's Public School Matches, 1805-1897*, p. xi), sigh for "a good neutral ground, tolerably accessible, but not in London, away from mayonnaises, champagne, and

lobsters, when two good days' cricket may be seen by old boys and those personally interested, and no crush or crowd, but genuine business." At least the match with Harrow might be resumed on the same terms as that with Eton, alternately at the two Schools. It may perhaps be reasonably assumed that "Barkis," that is Harrow, would be "willin'."

Since this was written Mr. Walter Long, M.P., writing on cricket in *Harrow School* (Edward Arnold, 1898), expresses a wish that the match with Winchester may be resumed. If both parties are thus agreed, what more fitting year than the last year of the century could be found for the revival of the match? As in the last match played Harrow won, the invitation ought to come from Winchester to play at Winchester.

Other athletic activities cannot remain wholly unnoticed. After an abortive effort in 1862, a Boat Club was formally opened in 1867 with a procession of boats. An odd one it was, as everybody who had ever been in a boat, on sea or lake or river, was pressed into the service. It was a windy day, and the rolling and lurching of the craft were enough to try the stoutest stomach. A good many never reached the goal of First Pot. The Club met a great want, especially in "Common time"—Easter term—as no football was then played. Divers good oars have made their first *début* on the Itchen. It is a great pity that the lovely reaches of the river below First Pot are no longer attainable, and that such a healthy outlet for energy as rowing has been cribbed

and confined to one bare mile of river bed, and in that mile the bed is sometimes more prominent than the river. The School, however, manages to turn out a Four good enough to win against crews from Oxford Colleges.

The Rifle Corps, founded in 1860, began shooting in 1862, and in 1863 won the Spencer Cup. In my time it was industrious, but unsuccessful. But when all the other School institutions were shooting vigorously, Rifle Corps was bound to do the same, and under the captaincy of Mr. Richardson, himself a Queen's Prize-man, it soon reaped the fruit of its endeavours. For three years—1871 to 1873—the Ashburton Shield, the prize of Public Schools' competition at Wimbledon, adorned Moberly Library, and after two years in the second place, Winchester was again successful in 1876. It has never again won the Shield, though it has many times been in the first three, and several times almost grasped the prize. Since the competition was removed to Bisley in 1890, however, it has been by no means in the front rank.

In the last three years the rifle-range on Peg Down has been useless, being condemned as unsafe for modern weapons. Unless the College authorities make the War Office bestir themselves to provide a proper range, the W.C.R.V.C. cannot compete with any reasonable prospect of success with Bradfield and Charterhouse.

In my time there was no Racquet-court except the open seventeenth-century Ball-court at the back of

School, and that was more often used for small football or small crocketts than for racquets. An anonymous donor, believed to be C. H. Ridding—Dr. Ridding's father, who had himself been Second-master—erected a covered racquet-court in 1872. Since then Winchester has held its own in the Public School competition, though it has never actually won. Among past Winchester players Sir Edward Grey is the best known. No better school pair has probably been seen nor enjoyed worse luck than E. B. Noel and R. A. Williams. But in 1896 Noel had German measles and was unable to play at all, in 1897 his eye was cut open by the enemy, and in 1898 he played with the "mumps" on him, which sent him "continent" the next day. Their true form is shown by Noel being first-string for Cambridge and Williams for Oxford as Freshmen this year.

XXXI

A CHANGE OF GOVERNMENT

AMID all the other changes, the great change in the government of the College from the old Warden and Fellows to a new Governing Body passed almost unnoticed. The Public Schools Commission, of which the late Lord Lyttelton had the credit of being the moving spirit, and over which Lord Clarendon presided, was appointed in 1862. The evidence taken by the Commission on Eton occupied 323 pages; on Westminster, a much smaller school, occupied 132 pages; while that on Winchester filled only 70 pages. Whether this was a tribute to the superior state of Winchester, or to the greater interest felt in Eton, certain it is that the impression given is highly favourable to Winchester. In face of its reputation as a rough school, it is remarkable that the evidence showed that there was far less bullying or fagging there than elsewhere.

The result of the Commission was the Public Schools Act 1868, "to make further provision for the good government and extension of certain Public Schools," viz. Winchester, Eton, Westminster, Harrow, Rugby, Charterhouse, Shrewsbury. The Act gave the Governing Bodies

of the Schools to 1st May 1869 to reform themselves. It was perhaps not to be expected that the Warden and Fellows of Winchester College should perform the happy despatch on themselves. They laid low and did nothing; so on 28th July 1871 a new Governing Body was made by the Commissioners. The old element remains in the persons of the Wardens of Winchester and New College *ex officio*, and a representative of the latter College, who is the present Sub-Warden, Mr. A. O. Prickard. The Masters of the School were given a representative, and they chose Dr. Temple, then just resigned from Rugby, and considered the most active and advanced of Headmasters.

The two ancient Universities and the Royal Society each appoint a member, and the Lord Chief-Justice, who may neither know nor care a fig about schools in general, or Winchester in particular, another. Finally the whole body coopt three more, making the whole number eleven. It is a serious blot on its constitution that the members are appointed for life, and not for a definite term, say five years. If men are appointed for a limited time there is no difficulty in securing continuity by their re-election, but the necessity of re-election gives pause and enables a man to consider whether he really can afford the time, or whether he had not better make way for a younger and more active man. There is never any lack of stability about a body of this kind, while new ideas and fresh minds are always a desiderandum, and generally a desideratum.

The members of the Governing Body are now called Fellows, but they have no share in the revenues they administer, beyond an honorarium of three guineas for attendance at meetings.

The last of the old order of Fellows was Gilbert Wall Heathcote, who died 17th July 1893, at the age of eighty-seven. He was chiefly known to us for his careful elocution in the Epistle on All Saints' Day. He read in his usual monotone, "Of the tribe of Judah were sealed 12,000," as if there was nothing remarkable about that. He was somewhat impressed when it transpired that "of the tribe of Reuben were sealed—12,000!" As more twelve thousands were sealed his wonder and the pace grew, till exclamation marks would fail altogether to represent his triumphant astonishment at the sealing of 12,000 of the tribe of Benjamin.

The new Governing Body was not in a violent hurry. After two years' gestation, in 1873 it produced some Statutes. Few changes from those of the University Commission were made. The chief was a financial one, the imposition of a payment of £21 a year, or practically the equivalent of a boy's keep, on each Scholar. One retrograde alteration was made. The University Commissioners had aimed successfully at keeping out the "unco' rich," by a clause giving the electors discretion to withhold a Scholarship from any one not in need of its assistance. Dr. Moberly, Dr. Ridding after him, and the School authorities generally had found the clause to work well. Without actually withholding a Scholarship in any case,

it was well understood that the *ricos ombres* should not apply. If they had, they would no doubt have met with much the same answer that Dr. Burton in 1759 gave to Lord Bute, the Prime Minister, when, canny Scot that he was, he sought to get his son's education free by planting him on College—

I was extremely mistaken in the intention of my Lord's letter to me. I imagined that he wanted to provide for some worthy gentleman's son in the least expensive manner. The Foundation is a very improper situation for your Lordship's son, nor agreeable to the Statutes.

But Winchester and Eton have seen in recent years the sons of men in receipt of thousands a year from the public purse, and still worse, men whose privy purses produced still larger incomes, enjoying the bounty provided by Wykeham for the sons of those who "without help cannot send their sons to the University." Some have repaid to the College the cost of their sons' education. But what consolation was that for the boys who were excluded by their sons from College? It is argued that, seeing that College at Winchester gives the best education in the best circumstances in the world, it is hard on the rich that their sons should be excluded from it. The answer is simple. It was not meant for them. They can get the same education under almost the same circumstances in a house. Besides, their presence in College, by raising the standard of expenditure, is distinctly harmful. It is extraordinary that rich men

should accept what is to them a mere "tip," while they shut out boys to whom exclusion is a loss for life—the difference between a Public School education and the want of it. If it is the honour of election they covet, let their sons enjoy the title and the garb of Scholars, but let them leave the material benefits for those for whom they were intended. It is strange that the Public Schools Commissioners, chiefly, it is said, Lord Salisbury, the professed upholder of Founders' wills, should have forced open the door which their predecessors, certainly not men of less capacity or wisdom, had deliberately closed to people whose consciences are as easy as their circumstances. The Governing Body have it in their power to abate the scandal by making a new statute, and it is high time they exercised their power.

The operations of the Governing Body are, however, shrouded in mystery. The Statutes provided for a number of Exhibitions of £21 a year, beyond the eight Commoner Exhibitions of £50 each, to be open to all boys in the School between fifteen and sixteen years of age. They must have been intended to excuse meritorious College boys from the payment of £21 placed on them by the Commissioners for the first time, and to increase the value of Commoner Exhibitions. But not one of them has ever been established. Again, the Commoner Exhibitions were to be not less than eight. The Oxford University Commissioners had provided for twenty. These Exhibitions are of great importance, as being the main antidote to the inevitable tendency of

College to monopolise the industry as well as the intellect of the School. But not one Exhibition beyond the eight has been established. Yet the Governing Body are richer than their predecessors to the extent of ten Fellowships at some £450 a year each, besides seventy times £21, the yearly payment imposed on the Scholars, or close on £6000 a year in all. Where has the money gone? They have not, so far as is known, spent anything on protecting the College against the great danger of being swallowed up by bricks and mortar, to prevent which Eton and Harrow have spent hundreds of thousands of pounds. The danger is not so great at Winchester as near London; but with the development of Southampton into a great port, with the threatened invasion of Bishopstoke by the South-Western Railway's Engine Works, and the Dean and Chapter over-running Shawford with villas, and dumping down mean dwellings on the meadow between College and St. Cross, the danger is real. Wolvesey, the Founder's chief residence, a splendid site for a boarding-house, right opposite College, has been allowed to fall into alien hands. Now Alfred the Great is to be celebrated by a new invasion of barbarians. A road, it is said, is to be driven from the lower town right into the grounds of Wolvesey and so to College Street, destroying its charm and the isolation which has made College and College Street a village community far from the madding crowd of the city.

Oxford laments in jerry-built villadom that it did not follow Jowett's advice some thirty years ago and buy up



WINCHESTER FROM ST. GILES' HILL.

From drawing by Mr. Perry Wadham.

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all the land around. Winchester College may be in a worse way than Westminster School thirty years hence if nothing is done.

No doubt the College income has suffered much from agricultural depression and the fall in the value of tithes; but if the loss has been greater than the increase to such an extent that the Governing Body cannot protect the interests of the School, surely it were better that the world—the Wykehamical world, at all events—were taken into their confidence. The accounts of Colleges at Oxford are made public, so are those of Public Schools like Uppingham and St. Paul's. Why are those of Winchester concealed? If the true state of the case and the need were known, Wykehamists would not be behind-hand in finding any money that might be necessary.

The year after its creation the new Governing Body was confronted with a question that for the moment stirred all England.

By one of those odd freaks of fortune, which confound all calculation, when Dr. Ridding was in the very midst of his career of reform, and not a term passed without some new development or modern improvement, Winchester suddenly became the butt of the public press, as the stronghold of ancient abuses and mediæval brutality, owing to what was commonly called the "Tunding Row." The origin of it was triviality itself. At Winchester we were very proud of the many remnants of ancient language that remained in common use as everyday terms, and are called "Notions." Opinions differ as to whether this word

is an ancient term for the thing signified. There were dictionaries of Notions, called by the good old English name of "Word-Books," which were handed down in MS. They have now been superseded by the excellent and *raisonné* specimen published by Mr. R. G. K. Wrench. In this esoteric language, which the vulgar outsider has been known to designate as slang, there were regular examinations of new boys conducted by Prefects.

In October 1872 the Prefects in Commoners came to the conclusion that a certain house was very unruly and very un-Wykehamical, and they determined to bring it into line. They therefore proceeded to hold an examination in Notions for the house, not merely of new boys or of lower boys subject to fagging, but of every one who was an Inferior; that is, of every one whatsoever his position in the School who was not a Prefect. One of these Inferiors was seventeen years old, and in "Senior Part." He therefore refused to be examined. There is no doubt that he was quite right to refuse, and the demand that he should submit himself for examination, though technically within the power of Prefects, was in conflict with all precedent, as well as all common-sense. In this case the Prefects determined most unwisely to insist on the examination. The examinee appealed to the Headmaster, who decided that the Inferior ought to have attended when commanded by Prefects as a matter of discipline, but that it was an exceptional case, and he was justified in appealing. Notwithstanding this the Prefects held a meeting, and determined that the recusant

should be "tunded." The Inferior, therefore, presented himself for the purpose. The Senior Prefect, instead of performing the operation quietly and without comment, entered into an altercation with him, apparently lost his temper, and delivered the unheard-of number of thirty cuts with the ground-ash.

This produced a "sensation" in the School. An old Wykehamist wrote a violent article in the *Times* on the subject, representing the "victim," as his father called him, as necessarily being in a state he "shuddered to think of." As a matter of fact, the "victim" played football in the ordinary course two days afterwards; his coat bore no trace of violence, and his back barely a bruise.

However, the letter in the *Times* came as a god-send to editors in a dull season. All the daily and weekly papers seized the opportunity with avidity, and their columns were deluged with correspondence. To read some of the letters which appeared one would have supposed that—

(1) Winchester was a place in which the whole school was divided into two factions, of which one was incessantly engaged in tunding the other, by preference on the neck or the calves.

(2) That tunding was thirty years before (a) unknown; (b) infinitely more prevalent.

(3) That it was at other schools (a) unknown; (b) equally well known.

(4) That Public Schools in general were (a) mere dens of torture; (b) mere paradises.

Some of the most astonishing letters emanated from one or two old Etonians, who took the opportunity of holding up Eton as the model of all that was gentlemanly and gentle. They would have had the world believe that at Eton there was nothing corresponding to Prefects, nothing approaching tunding, and that no Etonian ever spoke to another except to assure him in the blandest tones of his most distinguished consideration. More candid Etonians, however, made it clear that the same system existed there, with perhaps additional disadvantages, such as that 350 boys were able to fag others, that defaults in fagging were met with "cuts across the hand with a stick or a hair-brush," while one gentleman in authority "took a fancy to having all the fags' ears pierced . . . to ascertain whether that young-lady-like operation was painful." As *Expertus* told one of the uncandid Etonians, they were all in the same boat, "one year it may be Rugby, another Harrow, a third Westminster. Vindex will not allow me to add, but I will add, a fourth year, Eton."

The prophecy has been singularly verified by complaints in the *Daily News* this very month and year (November 1898) of canings at Eton, where not only an intellectual aristocracy, but the members of a mere club called "Pop," to which, as a rule, entrance is obtained merely by physical force and skill in games, exercise the right of carrying, and practise the use of, canes on less muscular fellow-Christians. Had it not been for the arrival of the Sirdar and the Fashoda

incident, with its threatened war with France, we might have seen quite as great a *furor* as at Winchester twenty-five years ago.

Perhaps the chief absurdity of the "Tunding Row" was that while the correspondents raved about "brutal bullying," the executor himself was a mild and harmless youth. Dr. Ridding, indeed, added to the gaiety of the nation by describing him as "a good and gentle boy," and the "victim" as "a good and nice boy." In fact, these descriptions of the *dramatis personæ* were accurate. The mischief arose from a weak person in authority trying to play the part of a strong one. The "victim" was not amenable to fagging, and far too big and strong to be the subject of bullying. The attempt to coerce him, and the miserable exhibition made in the attempt, were the result of a foolish and reactionary revival of a decadent usage.

Exaggerated, untrue, or ludicrous as were most of the statements made, the controversy did good by expediting the definite condemnation of abuses which were wholly anachronisms.

The matter was referred to the new Governing Body, who inquired into the whole system of Prefectorial punishments and fagging. On 20th January 1873 they gave their decision. They condemned, as a matter of course, the action which caused the outbreak, and prohibited "spanking," or, as they called it, "the minor punishment." They expressed their decided disapprobation of corporal punishment by Prefects for minor offences, and trusted

that there would be an effective appeal to the Head-master, and the matter dealt with finally by him. They "learnt with satisfaction" that most of their suggestions had been anticipated by the Head-master, and that the "objectionable practice" of an examination in Notions "will not be allowed to continue."

The terms were mild, but the result has been satisfactory. The best proof that can be given that tunding has been reduced to the requisite minimum is, that my own son, who has been in College for three years, has not only never experienced, but has never seen a tunding. Tundings, in fact, now appear to be reduced to much the same level as whippings by the Head-master, namely, to about two or three a term, and to be reserved for serious offences against school laws.

Analogy suggests that a further step should be taken. One point made in the "Tunding Row" was unanswerable. Flogging is entirely a matter for the Head-master; no Assistant-master is able to flog on his own account. If no Assistant-master may corporally punish, is it logical or reasonable to leave the power of corporal punishment in the hands of any and every Prefect? It being recognised that tunding is a judicial operation, it should be judicially dealt with. The effective way to ensure this would be its limitation to the Prefect of Hall in College and the Senior Prefect in Commoners.

The Prefect system at Winchester is probably the best that can be devised. At Eton it is said that some three hundred and fifty boys exercise the power of fag-

ging—a power which must depend entirely on the power of the individual against other individuals. At Winchester only Prefects can fag, which at once sets a narrow and well recognised limit to fagging.

That the Prefect system contributes to put down bullying admits of no reasonable doubt. The only case of bullying by Prefects I ever knew was one, not of violent cruelty, but a system of nagging, and it was met by the degradation from office and “Sixth Chambering” of the Prefect responsible. Sixth Chambering is, or was, a bibling delivered in Sixth Chamber on the portion of the frame usually birched.

Whether bullying goes on at Winchester now, it is of course almost impossible to discover. After many inquiries I should be prepared to say that in College it is unknown. I should be very much surprised to hear that it goes on in Houses either.

There are two very good reasons, apart from a general softening of manners, why it should not exist. The bully was almost invariably the big lout, whose position in the School at sixteen or seventeen was below the average of his age. This personage, under the system of superannuation, which throughout the School offers the alternative *Aut disce aut discede* under fixed rules has disappeared. Another and equally important reason is the greater evenness of age and size. In the old days it was not unknown for a child of nine to be in College along with a Founder’s kin of twenty and upwards. Ten

and eleven was quite a common age for admission, and a large proportion of boys went to school under twelve. No one now is admitted under twelve, and between thirteen and fourteen is the usual age of admission.

That any system will always prevent bullying or other evils which tend to arise in schools, it would be Quixotic to believe. That the Prefect system tends to minimise the chances of their arising by the responsibility which they cast on the leading boys, I, in common with many others who are no admirers of corporal punishment in any form, firmly believe.

Dr. Ridding removed in 1884 to a new sphere of activity, to organise, as its first Bishop, the new diocese of Southwell, taking with him the gratitude of Wykehamists for the immense work he had done in renewing the youth of the School and restoring it to its pristine place. As, happily, he is not yet a subject for history, a detailed panegyric would be premature. But it is not unfitting to record that the enthusiasm felt for him by those who, like myself, composed his first Sixth Book, was boundless. What impressed us most in him was the sense of a great reserve of power, of strength without narrowness. Breadth was his distinguishing characteristic—breadth of mind, breadth of learning, breadth of view, breadth of sympathy. In School, in Chapel, in Meads, he built broad and deep. Dr. Burton was called *Wykehamus alter*, for having in his new house organised Commoners. Dr. Ridding deserves the name in a far wider

sense. Like Wykeham himself, he was a living realisation of Aristotle's magnanimous man. The burden of the striking sermon which he preached on Wykeham in 1887 is exactly applicable to himself. He put his hand to a great work and carried it out in a great way. *Opus feliciter consummavit.*

XXXII

“PRESENT DAY”

OF the reigning Head-master, Dr. Fearon, it would be unbecoming to say much. His brilliant career at Winchester and Oxford, followed by a not less brilliant episode as Head-master of Durham Cathedral School, which he was rapidly raising into a great Public School, made his election a foregone conclusion. Every one felt of the succession, “Not Amurath an Amurath succeeds, but Harry, Harry.”

His reign has witnessed two Quingentenary celebrations—the first, in 1887, to commemorate the five hundredth year from the laying of the foundation-stone of College, was purely Wykehamical ; the second was to celebrate (though, as has been shown, in the wrong year) the entrance upon College Buildings. The presence of the heir to the throne, the sermon preached in Cathedral by the ecclesiastical chief of the Church, the late Archbishop of Canterbury, whose brilliant son in College, cut off prematurely, lies buried in cloisters, and a great gathering from the seats of the mighty in Church and State and Schools, made the Quingentenary on 25th July 1898 a national event. It has left two permanent memorials

MUSEUM, BUILT 1897.

From photograph by Mr. J. Adley.

To face p. 307.

behind—a literary monument, which has often been quoted, *Winchester College, 1893–1893, by old Wykehamists*, illustrated by that well-known and picturesque draughtsman, Herbert Marshall, and edited by Mr. A. K. Cook; and a building, Museum. The question of the latter almost provoked a schism in the Wykehamical body. It was proposed by some to build a new Chapel, and by others to restore the College-wise arrangement of seats, meeting the need for room by a finely carved gallery and some artistic tapestry against the bare west wall. Eventually both projects were abandoned for a “restoration” of Wykeham’s chantry in Cathedral, and a new Museum on Sick-house Meads. The former was effected under the guidance of Mr. Micklethwaite, chiefly by filling the niches with statues by Mr. Frampton.

Museum was designed by Mr. Basil Champneys. Opinions differ, of course, as to the appropriateness of its style and the beauty of the execution. It certainly does not seem a peculiarly happy thought to build an imitation of an imitation—for such is the Jacobean style, being the seventeenth-century effort after classical architecture—in red brick, when the splendid native style of Wykeham, carried out in the effective local material of flint and stone, stares it in the face a few yards away. However, it will acquire in due time a historical interest of its own as a specimen of the fashionable style of the late Victorian era.

As this book is intended to be a treasure, if not a joy for ever, I append what will no doubt be, to the

reader of the twenty-first century, its most valuable part, a record of the life of a Winchester Scholar as it is to-day. It is a plain unvarnished tale, communicated as received from a "Sixth Book Inferior," with one or two interpolations for the benefit of old Wykehamists of my own or earlier days, and those unfortunates who are not Wykehamists.

The first sound heard by a Scholar in College at the present day is at 6.15 A.M. This is "First Peal," a shortened form of First Peal for Mattins, a term which descends from at least the thirteenth century. It consists now in a single bell rung seventy times, once for each scholar. It is the signal to the Junior in each chamber to rouse himself and go round the "shop" (such is the vile word which the last twenty years have substituted for "chamber") to call every man in turn, Prefects and Juniors alike. Having done that, he goes to his "bidet."

A delightful thing is "Bidet-room." It is a room, with a zinc floor, in which is a grating through which the water runs away. The bidet is a flat round bath, and when the bather has finished, he just upsets it on the floor and puts it under the tap to fill for the next comer. Having performed his ablutions the Junior returns to the chamber, and calls the whole "shop" again at 6.25. After that he goes round every five minutes. The time is all reckoned by quarters—*e.g.* 6.20 is "ten to half-hour," and 6.40 is "five to three-quarters." Every one except "Junior" can get up when he likes.

At 7 o'clock is School for "Morning Lines." These

last for three-quarters of an hour. Immediately afterwards is Chapel, which ends a little after 8 o'clock. Then comes breakfast, which includes sausages or bacon or some other substantial dish. After breakfast in Short Half, the term from Michaelmas to Christmas, there is always a game on Ball Court called “Up-game.” This is a mixture of Winchester and Association Football. There are usually about thirty taking part in it. Any one who comes may join in at any period of the game.

At 9.15 all have to be in College for “Books-Chambers,” an hour spent in downstairs chambers in preparing lessons to be heard up to books that morning. From 10.15 to 12 every one is up to books, in Class-rooms. 12.15 to 1.15 is the hour sacred to football.

Hall, which is presided over by a single Don, the Tutor in College, is rather a movable feast, being any time between a quarter to and half-past one, as may be most suitable to the games then prevalent. In winter it is at 1.30; in summer it is at 1, so as to leave more time for cricket afterwards. On Sundays and Leave-out days it is at 1.15. After Hall till 3.15 all are free to do what they like. Then comes an hour of Books-Chambers, followed by School till 6.15. At tea in Hall, Prefects actually nowadays make toast for juniors.

After tea it is the custom to “socius round Chamber Court,” which means promenading with a companion, only Prefects being allowed to walk up and down “Middle Sands,” the strip of flagstone across Chamber Court.

At 7 P.M. all have to turn in for “Toy-time,” when

preparation for the following day or perhaps a task has to be done. This lasts till half-past eight. At that time the Junior in each chamber has to go up and light the fire—coal now, not faggots. The fire sounds very luxurious, but is quite necessary, because those who do not have to go to bed early sit in upstairs chambers, those downstairs being locked directly after Chapel. From 8.30 till 8.45 is supper in Hall, consisting of bread and cheese and beer for all who want it. At 8.45 there are *preces* in Chapel for College only. They just fit into the choir-seats, Prefects occupying stalls.

Juniors have to be in bed at 9.30 P.M., where if they like they may read till 10, at which hour the light—I was going to say gas, but now, in this age of luxury, electric light has just been put into College (except in lower chambers, where it is most wanted)—is turned out.

Sixth Book Inferiors must be in bed at 10.30, but that time is not kept so strictly as the time for Juniors. Prefects sit up to any hour they like, occasionally all night, to “mug.”

So much for a day in Short Half.

In “Common Time,” i.e. from the Christmas to the Easter holidays, the hours are pretty much the same, except that for the first four or five weeks there are no Morning Lines. But this does not mean that three-quarters of an hour's work is wholly remitted. Work begins at 9 instead of 9.15, and lasts till 12.30. This is a tremendously long time to work straight on end, and at 12 you rather wish that you had got up at 7 and got it over. During these

weeks Hall is at 12.45. Till March, football is played in the afternoon—not Winchester football, the glories of which are reserved for Short Half, but the modern mixture, Association game, commonly called Soccer. The matches at Soccer are not between the divisions of the School, College, Houses, and Commoners; but, as now also at cricket, between elevens of each House; College, divided into East and West, counting as two Houses. Football stops in March. Fives and racquets then reign. Bat-fives on Ball Court and Squish-racquets are the refuge of the crowded-out. At the end of this term come Athletic Sports, preceded a week before by Steeplechase. Steeplechase dates from 1872, when the course was three-quarters of a mile. Now it is about three miles. The competition is strenuous, as there is a challenge cup for it, which goes to the House which has the most and best placed men in the first seventy. There are about two hundred and fifty runners in all; Juniors in their first year being compelled, unless pronounced medically unfit, to go in for it to “see how they run.” Round the winning post, which is now usually in the “Green jackets” (Rifles) cricket ground, the ground is strewn with the corpses of the runners, rolling about in assumed, or occasionally real, sickness. Whether you feel bad or not it is the proper thing to roll. One very distinguished runner confessed that in his first year, seeing everybody else hurl themselves down and roll about, he supposed it was part of the entertainment, so did likewise, though not a bit “done.” For Sports, commonly called “Athla,”

the first heats are spread over a week, finals being reserved for two half-remedies.

The hours in "Cloister Time," the summer term, are slightly altered.

School lasts from 9.15 to 12.45. Hall is at 1, and so two and a half good hours from 1.30 to 4 are secured for cricket. From 4 to 6 again there is School. Lock-up in Cloister Time is not until 8, so there is an hour and a half after tea to spend as one likes. Supper is from 8 to 8.15. Toy-time follows from 8.15 to 9.15, then *preces*. So much for the distribution of the hours in a day at any time of the year.

The amount of fagging to be done now is very little. A Junior is liable to be "sweated" in his first two years in Commoners, and in College till he has got into Sixth Book. The regular fagging is:—Twice a week "watching-out" at football or at cricket-nets for an hour at a time. This is according to a regular roll, and there are five on duty at once. Second year men watch out only once a week.

In College the duties of "Junior in Chambers," or Juniors in their first year, have been already described.

Second Junior has to wash up mess things in the morning after use the night before (this is generally about twice a week), also light "bill-brighter" (which, for the edification of the uninitiated, is a small bundle of twigs tied with a string). Second, third, and sometimes fourth Juniors are "valets" of Prefects. Their duties are to take their books up and down to Chambers,

brush their washing-stool when required, and such small matters.

At any time a Junior may be sweated to do anything for a Prefect; as, *e.g.*, to watch-out extra for “kicking in” canvas, or for extra nets during cricket; but if he has watched-out once in a day for an hour, he cannot be called on again. This miscellaneous fagging is very limited. If a Junior has something definite to do, *e.g.*, if he has a fives-court, he is generally let off.

My informing Inferior then actually condescends to such an unimportant detail of school-life as school-work. He is a Classical man, in Junior Division VI. Book. Army Class substitute German for Greek, and cultivate Science and Mathematics at the expense of Plato and Æschylus.

FORM OF WORK—SHORT HALF, 1898

JUNIOR DIVISION—SIXTH BOOK

| | 7-7.45 | 10.15-11.15 | 11.15-12 | 4.15-5.15 | 5.15-6.15 |
|---------------|----------------------------------|----------------------------------|----------------------|----------------------------------|------------------|
| <i>Mon.</i> | Divinity | German | Livy | { Mathematics (or substitute) | } Æschylus |
| <i>Tues.</i> | Divinity | { Mathematics (or substitute) | } Horace | | |
| <i>Wed.</i> | { Cic. Lines (15) Latin Entry | } Plato | { Science (Sound) | } German | { Greek Entry |
| <i>Thurs.</i> | Vergil Lines (20) | { Mathematics (or substitute) | } Livy | | |
| | | 9.45-11.15 | | | |
| <i>Fri.</i> | Cic. Lines (15) | { History and Horace | Prose Ver- sion | } Mathematics | Æschylus |
| | | 10-12 | | 3.45-4.30 | |
| <i>Sat.</i> | { English Lines (about 30) | } Plato and sundries | | Science | |

In place of Mathematics, some do Terence “unseen,” or Thucydides.

Tasks.

Latin Prose (about 20 lines of English), to be sent up at 10 on Wednesday. Every third week Greek.

Latin Verse (from 16 to 20 verses usually), to be sent up at 10 on Friday. Those who do not do verses do a book of Horace or Vergil.

Greek Prose (about 15 lines) or Lambi (6 is the minimum, up to a possible 16); sometimes English Essay, to be sent up by First Chapel on Sunday 9 A.M.

SENIOR DIVISION—SIXTH BOOK

| | 7-7.45 | 10.15-11.15 | 11.15-12 | 4.15-5.15 | 5.15-6.15 |
|---------------|-------------------------|---------------|---------------------------|-----------|-----------------------|
| <i>Mon.</i> | Divinity | Entry | { Aristophanes' "Birds" } | Sophocles | { Tacitus' "Annals" } |
| <i>Tues.</i> | Divinity | Cicero | Aristophanes | | |
| <i>Wed.</i> | Entry | History | { Critical Questions } | Versions | Lucretius |
| <i>Thurs.</i> | Entry Version | Sophocles | German | | |
| | | 9.15-12 | | | |
| <i>Fri.</i> | { Latin Prose Version } | English Essay | | Cicero | Tacitus |
| | | 10.15-11.15 | 11.15-12 | | |
| <i>Sat.</i> | Plato | German | Plato | | |

Verse and Prose tasks are much the same as in Junior Division. Some do no verses.

Entry—a new term at Winchester, borrowed from Harrow or some such inferior place—consists in doing, on paper, an “unseen” up to books. Entry version is the Don’s idea of what the translation ought to have been.

Of our books, we are supposed to do 100 lines of Verse at a time, but we never do more than about 70, generally not so much. Of Prose we do about three pages, though generally we do not do so much up to books.

For preparation we have an hour’s Books-Chambers in the morning and afternoon, and only one lesson to prepare, except on Monday morning. As a rule, one takes about three-quarters of an hour to do it. “Toy-time” every night for an hour and a half is generally occupied by “tasks,” i.e. Latin or Greek Prose or Verse, an English Essay, “Dick paper,” i.e. mathematical problems, or the like.

That the School now, as in the fifteenth century, accomplishes the main work of a school in turning out

distinguished scholars, may be evidenced from its Honour Lists. No attempt was made to record the honours gained by Wykehamists at Oxford and elsewhere before 1877, when a list first appears in Blue Roll. Blue Roll is a yearly School-list, which first appeared in 1873, and may be described as a modernised Long Roll. Short Roll appears every half, and gives simply the general School order of the boys. Blue Roll appears once a year, and gives the final order in each subject—mathematics, science, and modern languages, as well as classics. It is prefaced by a list of past prize-winners in the School, with the yearly list of honours. It is interesting to compare the first list with the last, omitting Second Classes and other inferior honours, and giving only the highest.

1877.

OXFORD.

University Prizes—Latin Essay, English Essay, Denyer and Johnson Scholarship, 2 Fellowships.

Final Schools (First Class)—Classics, 4; History, 1; Law, 1.

Moderations (First Class)—Classics, 2; Mathematics, 2.

Scholarships—New College, 6; elsewhere, 7

CAMBRIDGE.

Fourth Wrangler and Smith's Prizeman.

CIVIL SERVICE EXAMINATIONS.

First three for Home Civil Service; second for Ceylon Civil Service; fourth for Woolwich; three for Cooper's Hill Engineering College.

1898.

OXFORD.

University Prizes—Craven Fellowship, Hertford Scholarship (and *proxime accessit*), Senior Mathematical Scholarship, 1 Fellowship.

Final Schools (First Class)—Classics, 6; Mathematics, 1; Natural Science, 2; Theology, 1.

Moderations (First Class)—Classics, 6; Mathematics, 1.

Scholarships and Exhibitions—New College, 6 (1 Exhibition); elsewhere, 4.

CAMBRIDGE.

University Prizes—Browne Scholarship, English Essay.

Tripes (First Class)—Fourth Wrangler, 1 Classics.

Scholarships—Trinity Major Scholarships, 2.

CIVIL SERVICE EXAMINATIONS.

Indian Civil Service, 2; Woolwich, 2; Sandhurst, 2.

The standard for New College Scholarships, though they are reckoned among close Scholarships in journalistic honour lists, is notoriously higher than that of any others in the University except Balliol, and not less high than that of Balliol. Whether, while reaping the benefit of the connection with Winchester, New College has the right to make, or is wise in making, the standard so high, is a question of some difficulty. It is rather absurd that while six Scholarships a year are supposed to be confined to Winchester, Winchester boys rejected at New College are found winning some of the best open Scholarships elsewhere.

The Craven will soon be an appanage of Winchester, as it has been won by Wykehamists in 1890, 1893, 1895, 1897, 1898, 1899. Perhaps the best indication of the success of Winchester in this line is, that there are now thirty Wykehamists resident and tutorial Fellows of Oxford Colleges, and some twenty are Head-masters of schools.

If the number of Second Classes were added, it would be seen that good work is not confined merely to the brilliant few. It is a well-known peculiarity of Winchester that whether or no it is, according to a clever definition of a University, a place where some men learn everything, it is, at all events, a place where all men learn something. Every one is expected to do some work, or he is liable to find himself relegated to less pleasant haunts of the Muses. The standard of attainment is not, indeed, alarmingly high, and character is taken into account. But the lout and the ne'er-do-weel meet with a happy despatch.

Nowhere in all the world can boyhood be passed under happier auspices than at Winchester to-day. For a Scholar in College merely to live in those antique chambers, to dine in that lofty hall, to walk in that picturesque court, steeped in the subtle influences of five hundred years of continuous school-life, with the proud consciousness that here alone can such privileges be enjoyed, is no small part of a liberal education. Commoners in houses share in a scarcely less degree the charm of a historic past and a delightful present. In Chapel

and School, in Meads and Hills, in the visits—now much rarer than those of their predecessors, but not, perhaps, therefore less impressive—to the mighty Minster, full of the memory of the common Founder, they equally fall under the spell of the *genius loci*, and feel its power. Our predecessors felt unmeasured devotion to our Lady of Winchester, though her service was not without hardships. Life at Winchester now is the most comfortable as well as the freest of all school lives, passed in the most strenuous variety of work and play, amid the most charming surroundings of nature and of art.

In the present, even more than in the past, William of Wykeham is justified of his children.

ETIAM SEPULTI VIVIT FAMA WYKEHAMI.

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